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EARLY MEDITERRANEAN MIGRATIONS

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EARLY MEDITERRANEAN MIGRATIONS

AN ESSAY IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INTERPRETATION

by
T. BURTON-BROWN

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- I Bi-conical vessel, containing ceresin, with an ink-written inscription.
- II Two views of part of a pottery dish, showing what may be alphabetic signs.



PREFACE

THERE is, in the first part of this little book, an examination of some pieces of pottery, now in the Manchester Museum, which were found in the town known as Kahun in Upper Egypt by Sir Flinders Petrie, a town occupied during a comparatively short period at the beginning of the Second Millennium, though partly re-used some centuries later. Several of the vessels found are especially interesting in view of the fact that they have parallels with objects found in other regions of the Near East. The fact that such similarities exist has not been fully appreciated or studied in the past, largely because of the incompleteness of the relevant publications, which consist of two books by Petrie. (There is also a brief unillustrated list issued by the Manchester Museum.) This examination of pottery constitutes the introductory part of the book, most of the rest of which takes the form of a study of Near Eastern archaeology at the time of the earliest part of the Second Millennium, a subject which is perhaps illuminated and to some extent clarified by the evidence of the Kahun objects. The point of view adopted (one which has been described before by the present writer) is to the effect that periodic migrations from East to West produced cultural breaks in the development of the various local civilizations of the Near East. This is, of course, an assumption, not a recognized fact. At the epoch dealt with, however, there seems to be a fair quantity of evidence to support it.

Much of the book is concerned with actual objects, and the conclusions reached can be checked in many cases. In the opinion of the writer, it is possible to consider that this material evidence points towards the presence of branches of Indo-European speaking peoples at this early date in the Near East, peoples with affinities both with the Greeks and with Celtic-speakers, as known in La Tène and later times. But it is willingly acknowledged that material support for so novel and far-reaching a theory is but slight, though this may be accidental, being possibly due to no

more than the fact that attempts to obtain archaeological evidence from the Near East are not yet on a really wide geographical scale. There can be little doubt that the paucity of material available for study from several lands, and perhaps especially from Persia and Caucasia, hinders advance in the study of the history of that region, considered as a whole, and it is very greatly to be hoped that this will be remedied in the future.

Many of the vessels mentioned in these pages were presented to the Manchester Museum by the late Dr. Jesse Howarth. Some of them have been but briefly mentioned before in scientific publications; others not at all, and I am greatly honoured by being granted the permission of the Committee of that Museum to write about them. Since the archaeological implications of these objects is considerable, and since they appear not to have received the attention that they deserve, I have taken the opportunity to set down fairly full descriptions and, it is hoped, adequate comments. The result has been a paper too long to publish in a Journal, except in instalments, the completion of which in less than four years could not be expected. Since it is normally only in a Journal that it is possible to publish, at little cost to the writer, an archaeological work not likely to pay its way, I am particularly glad to put on record the very great kindness of the Committee of the Manchester University Press in accepting this study for publication. I offer my warmest thanks to them for their generosity.

I also offer thanks to old and valued friends, Dr. Winifred Lamb, Mr. G. A. Wainwright and Professor Gadd for criticism of opinions expressed here and elsewhere. The effect has been salutary, even though it has not caused me to change my views.

T. BURTON-BROWN

Winchle
June, 1958

ABBREVIATIONS

Abydos	<i>Abydos</i> , Vols. I and II by W. M. F. Petrie; Vol. III by E. R. Ayrton and others.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts; Athenische Abteilung</i> .
Ann.	<i>Annuario della scuola Italiana a Atene</i> .
Arch.	<i>Archaeologia</i> .
Az 1948	T. Burton-Brown, <i>Excavations in Azarbaijan 1948</i> .
B-B Studies	T. Burton-Brown, <i>Studies in Third Millennium History</i> .
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> .
BMC	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Vases</i> (Greek and Roman Department).
BMG	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie</i> .
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i> .
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens</i> .
Byblos	M. Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos</i> .
CIG	T. Burton-Brown, <i>The Coming of Iron to Greece</i> .
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
Dahchour	J. de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894</i> .
Dahchour, 1894-5	J. de Morgan, <i>Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-5</i>
DEP	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse</i> .
Desborough	V. D'A Desborough, <i>Protogeometric Pottery</i> .
El Kab	J. E. Quibell, <i>el Kab</i> .
Eph. Arch.	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i> .
ESA	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua</i> .
Eutresis	H. Goldman, <i>Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia</i> .
Gawra	E. A. Speiser, <i>Excavations at Tepe Gawra</i> , Vol. I.
Gezer	R. A. S. Macalister, <i>The Excavation of Gezer</i> .
Giyan	G. Contenau and R. Ghirshman, <i>Fouilles de Tépé Giyan</i> .
Gizeh	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Gizeh and Rifeh</i> .
Gurob	G. Brunton, <i>Gurob</i> .
Hetepheres	G. A. Reisner, <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis</i> , Vol. II.
IKG	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> .
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i> .
KGH	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Kahun, Gurob and Hawara</i> .
Koban	R. Virchow, <i>Das Gräberfeld von Koban</i> .
Korakou	C. Blegen, <i>Korakou</i> .
LAAA	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology</i> .
Labyrinth	W. M. F. Petrie and others, <i>The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh</i> .
Lahun	<i>Lahun</i> , Vol. I by G. Brunton; Vol. II by W. M. F. Petrie.
Mat. archy. Cauc.	<i>Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus</i> .

ABBREVIATIONS

Matmar	G. Brunton, <i>Matmar</i> .
M/c	Manchester
Mc.	<i>Megiddo</i> , Vol. I by R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton; Vol. II by G. Loud.
Mesara	S. Xanthoudides, <i>The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara</i> .
Meydum	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Meydum and Memphis</i> , III.
Mochlos	R. B. Seager, <i>Excavations in the Island of Mochlos</i> .
Mostagedda	G. Brunton, <i>Mostagedda</i> .
Myk. Vasen	A. Furtwangler and G. Loescke, <i>Mykenische Vasen</i> .
NCEBAM	R. M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton, <i>Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo</i> .
PEFQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly</i> .
Phylakopi	T. D. Atkinson and others, <i>Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos</i> .
POM	A. Evans, <i>The Palace of Minos at Knossos</i> .
Qau	G. Brunton, <i>Qau and Badari</i> .
RAC	E. Chantre, <i>Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase</i> .
Rapp. prelim.	H. Ingholt, <i>Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie</i> .
R.C.	C. L. Woolley, <i>Ur Excavations II, The Royal Cemetery</i> .
Rev. et Grec.	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> .
Riqqeh	R. Englebach, <i>Riqqeh</i> .
SC	C. F. A. Schaeffer, <i>Stratigraphie comparée</i> .
SCE	E. Gjerstad, <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> .
Sedment	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Sedment</i> .
Shah Tepe	T. J. Arne, <i>Excavations at Shah Tepe, Iran</i> .
Sialk	R. Ghirshman, <i>Fouilles de Sialk</i> .
SS	E. Schmidt, <i>Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertumer</i> .
Syria	<i>Syria</i> .
TAH	<i>The Alishar Hüyük</i> (Chicago Oriental Institute publication), 30-2, refers to the report on the work of the seasons of 1930-2.
Ug.	C. F. A. Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> .
Unpub. Palai.	Supplementary paper no. 1 of the British School of archaeology at Athens, R. C. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins, <i>The unpublished objects from the Palaiastro excavations</i> .
VTM	S. Xanthoudides, <i>The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara</i> .

CHAPTER I

POTTERY FOUND AT KAHUN

It will be suggested in these pages that the discoveries at Kahun are of great importance as regards the international aspect of Near Eastern archaeology; it is this theory about them, rather than their interest as regards purely local Egyptian affairs, that is to be discussed. From the time when the excavation was carried out attention was, indeed, paid to certain classes of pottery which were singled out as of importance, since they were believed to indicate direct contacts between the peoples of Egypt and those of the Aegaean area. Amongst these are sherds of polychrome painted fabrics, some of which may be either Kamares wares from Crete, or related wares. Others are of categories for which no source can be suggested even now, nearly seventy years since the objects were found, for they are from wares which are still of unique type.

Practically all the pieces of painted pottery which appear to be similar to Aegaean fabrics, which were found at Kahun, were presented to the British Museum, or went elsewhere, and the Manchester Museum possesses only three small sherds, none with any great significance. The pieces now housed in the British Museum as a result of that action have been published by Forsdyke, but it appears that their peculiar implications have not yet been fully explored. No suggestion has yet been made of the possibility, for example, that the parallels between the Kahun fragments and ceramics from the Aegaean area of the early Second Millennium could be due to some kind of common parentage. Yet the unique style of some of the Kahun sherds points, surely, to some other source than the Aegaean for them. And, as the present writer suggested some twenty-five years ago, there is reason to believe that the light-on-dark style of decorating pottery in the Aegaean area, which flowered in the Kamares style, may well have originated in western Asia, where there have been found not only quantities

of pieces which may date to the period after 1500 B.C. (these have been discussed in part by Mallowan), but also of pieces which may be of about 2000 B.C., and even earlier (these have been referred to by the present writer elsewhere). One important source for the pieces which may belong to the earlier date suggested is Malatia, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, sherds from which site (presented to the Ashmolean Museum) include a polychrome light-on-dark decorated fabric which is perhaps related to a light-on-dark ware found at Ashur (compare LAAA, XX, fig. 13, p. 61, with T. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, Plate II, bottom). Neither of those two fabrics are in the least likely to be derived from Aegaeon inspiration, judging by the evidence at present available.

While Sir John Forsdyke, in his study of early Aegaeon vases in the *B.M. Catalogue of Vases*, and Sir Arthur Evans, in *The Palace of Minos*, both referred to similarities between Cretan Middle Minoan wares and pieces of pottery found at Kahun, and said that there are to be recognized at Kahun importations from the West, neither seems to have examined the plain, or the incised fabrics from Kahun (nearly all are at Manchester) in the hope of discovering whether those objects also revealed similarities with Aegaeon pottery. Yet such similarities might surely be expected to appear, if indeed one could really believe in the presence of Aegaeon-made pots in Egypt at a place many miles from the sea. It is, as a matter of fact, true that there are parallels between some of the unpainted and incised wares found at Kahun and Aegaeon vases of comparable date. But these similarities, which will be discussed later in this study, are not so close as to suggest, at least to the writer, that any actual importation of vases took place in either direction. Nor, as a matter of fact, do the parallels between the painted vases of the two areas seem, to him, sufficiently close to confirm the opinion of those experts. There is, admittedly, a single Kahun sherd in the British Museum which is reasonably similar to an Aegaeon sherd (in the same Museum) in every way, but it is the only one of which this can be said. In such a matter one is, of course, expressing only a personal opinion, and personal opinions based on very scanty evidence are not worth much.

May it perhaps be suggested that a fair conclusion is that similar traditions of ceramic production can be traced in both Egypt and in the Aegean area at the period under consideration?

One of the queer things, among many, perceptible in the pottery fabrics from Kahun is the variety of contemporary styles of ornament, and the diversity in shapes. This makes essential some system of grouping the vases, and this is offered in the following pages for a selection of the pottery vessels thence housed in the Manchester Museum, under the headings summarized below. It should be noted that, in the case of the Painted wares (Section K), the pieces described are not typical of their class, as is the case in all other sections. This is because almost none of the characteristic Cretan-like painted wares found at Kahun were given to that Museum.

The vessels described here constitute only a part of the collection at Manchester. Their choice was not made with a view to any discussion and illustration of that collection for its own sake, most interesting and important though it is. They were selected mainly because they illustrate the Egyptian aspect of a particular view held by the writer about Near Eastern history more fully and directly than does any other collection of ceramic material from Egypt at present available. They are described as individual pieces, however, because it was felt that such things ought to be easily accessible for such scholars as may have no concern with the views which the writer wishes to put forward. There still remain incompletely published some remarkable pottery vessels from Kahun at Manchester, where the ceramic collection of Middle Kingdom date has probably as great a variety and significance as can be traced in any other Museum. It is certainly the most remarkable collection of that period in England.

LIST OF THE CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE VESSELS FROM KAHUN, WHICH ARE DISCUSSED BELOW, HAVE BEEN PLACED

- A Pottery vessels of types known in Egypt before the time of the Middle Kingdom (pp. 4-10).
- B Handled mug (p. 12).

- C Jar with high collar-shaped neck and two handles (p. 13).
- D Pilgrim flask (p. 14).
- E Pyxis (p. 14).
- F Bi-conical vessel (p. 15).
- G Lid (p. 16).
- H Spouted vase (p. 18).
- I Flower-pot-shaped vase (p. 20).
- K Painted wares (p. 20).
- L Multiple-spouted vase (p. 21).
- M Carinated bowl (p. 22).
- N Horizontal ring-vase (p. 23).
- O Oval dish (p. 23).
- P Red slip ware (p. 24).
- Q Ring-base (p. 27).
- R Ogee-shaped base (p. 27).
- S Handled jug (p. 28).
- T Bowl with interior loop handles (p. 28).
- U Vase with horizontal ridges (p. 29).

Section A

POTTERY VESSELS OF TYPES KNOWN IN EGYPT BEFORE THE TIME OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Certain shapes of pottery vessels which were found at Kahun appear to belong to categories known earlier in Egypt. Almost all the previous occurrences of such shapes are dated to the First Intermediate Period. They are as follows:

1. Bowl with incurved rim (p. 5).
2. Tall pointed vessel (p. 6).
3. Vase with flaring rim (p. 7).
4. Cup with a vertical rim (p. 7).
5. Cup with flaring rim (p. 8).
6. Bowl with trefoil lip (p. 8).
7. Ostrich-egg-shaped rhyton (p. 9).
8. Stand (p. 10).
9. Shallow bowl (p. 10).

A I. BOWL WITH INCURVED RIM

This shape of bowl was used in Egypt from time to time, but was never common. Examples were found at Kahun, most of which have ornament incised on the top of the outer surface of the rim, above the carination. There was only one example of an undecorated bowl of this shape found there.

One Kahun bowl of this type had ornament of straight lines arranged geometrically; another had a variety of a running spiral motif, well known on early Aegaeon pottery objects. The former bowl had a tubular spout set in the upper part of the rim.

Manchester Museum no. 470 (fig. 1.)

Spouted bowl, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, made of brick-red clay, covered with a similarly coloured wash. There is a ring-base, modelled by hand. There are two pellets of clay, one on either side of the spout. On the outer surface of the rim are two groups of incised horizontal lines, while above and below the lower of these two groups are diagonal lines of three or four dots made by pricking the clay while it is still soft with a sharp-pointed tool. Not published by Petrie.

Manchester Museum no. 471 (fig. 2)

Bowl without spout, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, made of medium red clay, without slip or wash, so far as can be ascertained. The surface of the vessel is brownish-red to black, and is somewhat discoloured. The vessel is badly out of shape; it has a base-ring made roughly by hand. On the outer surface of the rim is a poorly executed variety of running spiral pattern, and a horizontal row of short vertical strokes, incised. Previously published in KGH, XIII, 45.

The shape occurs in Third Dynasty times (A. C. Mace, *Naga ed Der*, III, fig. 100, 4-7). There are some Fourth Dynasty bowls (Heteperes, fig. 124, no. G 2160 A (with a spout), and W. M. F. Petrie, Meydum, Plate XXX, 15 and 17). A bowl stated to be of the time of the Sixth Dynasty, also with a spout, is now in the Manchester Museum, having been bought from the Liverpool

Museum. There is another example stated to be of the Sixth Dynasty, a bowl covered with red wash, illustrated in Matmar, Plate XXIX, 33. An example of the First Intermediate Period is illustrated in Sedment, I, Plate XXIX, 24. Middle Kingdom bowls are illustrated in Gizeh, Plate XXV, 11; El Kab, Plate XV, 29, 37; T. E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, Plate XXVIII d 67, Plate XXIX, third row from the bottom, second from the left.

The shape is found in other lands, and is well known in such areas as Anatolia (TAH, 30-32, i, fig. 237; AJA, 1947, Plate XCV, 4) and the Aegean towards the close of the Third Millennium and later (see p. 45). It is common in the Talyche area of north-western Persia (DEP, VIII, pp. 273, 323, and fig. 731 ff.) and occurs in Caucasia (Koban, fig. 47). There are examples from Gezer, perhaps of the Third Millennium (Gezer, III, Plate XVI, 7), from Ras Shamra in Syria of about 2000 B.C. (Ug., II, fig. 101, 33), from Megiddo stratum, XIX (Me., II, Plate III, 4), and Beth Shan (Museum Journal, Philadelphia, XXIV, 1, Plate VII, 9; Plate V, 15 and others).

One of the Meydum examples has a ring-base, and the Ras Shamra bowl was found with a vase which had a ring-base.

A 2. TALL POINTED VESSEL

Tall pointed vessels had been known, though only sporadically, since at least as early as the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt. The shape became common at the time of the First Intermediate Period, appearing first at the end of the Old Kingdom (Qau, I, Plate XXXI, 548). It was made use of in other lands (catalogue of occurrences in CIG, p. 50).

Manchester Museum no. 421 (fig. 17)

Pointed vase, height $7\frac{7}{16}$ inches, of brown-grey clay, covered with a slip, which is fired to red on one side and to black on the other. The surface is polished. There is a mark consisting of three vertical strokes side by side, incised by the use of a rather blunt tool on the collar of the neck. Previously published in KGH, XIII, 73.

A 3. VASE WITH FLARING RIM

This shape is well known in Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom. It is also known in other lands, and at an earlier time, though not commonly. For example, it appears at Troy, in the treasure of Troy II (SC, fig. 167), of about the middle of the Third Millennium, and a little later at Alishar (SC, fig. 193, 20). At much the same time examples of this shape appear in Mesopotamia (Gawra, Plate XXVII, 3, found in Stratum VI: British Museum no. 121926, etc.). It may be that this shape can be recognized also in approximately contemporary vessels from Mesopotamia such as CVA, France, iv, Plate 140, 23, and SC, fig. 309, 17, while an undated example of a closely related type comes from Persia (DEP, XXIX, fig. 69, 14).

The shape is found in Egypt as early as the time of the Eleventh Dynasty (Qau, I, Plate XXX, 84), while the piece Gizeh, Plate XIII B, 49, may be slightly earlier. It is common at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty (Riqqeh, Plate XXIX, 38).

Manchester Museum no. 346

Vase, height 6½ inches, of medium warm brown clay, covered with a matt plum-red wash. Previously published in KGH, XII, 27.

A 4. CUP WITH A VERTICAL RIM

This shape appeared in Egypt during the First Intermediate Period (Sedment, I, Plate XXIX, 30). It also appeared, at the same epoch, in the Aegean area (Unpub. Palai., Plates IV F, V A and D), and it was suggested many years ago by the present writer that this contemporaneity of a particular shape in two widely separated lands was not due to chance. It may be added that there is no prototype for the shape in either region. There are parallels between other classes of goods, such as the types of seals, as well as in pottery vessels, which appear at this epoch in both Egypt and the Aegean area. These have been discussed by the present writer in *Studies in Third Millennium History* and *The Coming of Iron to Greece*.

Manchester Museum no. 435 (fig. 3)

Cup, height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of medium warm brown clay. Made by hand, and now of oval shape in plan, perhaps through distortion from an originally circular shape. There is a ring-base modelled by hand. The fabric is thin. The upper part of the exterior is coated with red wash, and on this is decoration of vertical strokes of darker red and dark brown, both being matt. The unusual ornament of this vessel is described in detail later in this place (see p. 21). Not published by Petrie.

A 5. CUP WITH FLARING RIM

This shape occurs in Mesopotamia and Persia towards the close of the Third Millennium. An example from Susa is illustrated in DEP, XXV, p. 189, fig. 21, bottom left, while one from Mesopotamia, said to be of the Larsa Period, is on view at the British Museum, its number being 120902. Cups of this type occur at about 2000 B.C. in Crete (Mochlos, Plate IX, M 12; Unpub. Palai., Plate V D). They also appear in Late Mycenean times (Arch., LXXXII, Plate XXII, 8; Myk. Vasen, Plate IX, 51, and Plate XXVII) and sub-Mycenean times (AM, XXXV, p. 28, fig. 7). The shape is discussed elsewhere (CIG, p. 208).

The shape is found in Egypt at the time of the Ninth Dynasty (Mostagedda, Plate LII, 14 D).

Manchester Museum no. 469

Cup, height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of medium grey clay, fired to buff on the inner surface. The upper part of both the outer and the inner surfaces is coated with red wash. The vessel has a ring-base modelled by hand, and is ornamented with horizontal wavy lines incised with a blunt pointed tool. Not published by Petrie, but a fairly similarly shaped cup is illustrated in KGH, Plate XIII, 40.

A 6. BOWL WITH TREFOIL LIP

Several small vessels of bowl or bottle form, made into shapes suitable for pouring liquids by pinching the rim in one place, so

as to produce a more or less trefoil-shaped mouth, are included in the collection from Kahun. This method of forming a spout was known in Egypt at the time of the Fourth Dynasty, and again at the time of the Eighth Dynasty (Matmar, Plate XXX, 81), but it never seems to have been common in that country. If it had been a local invention in the first case, it would be strange that trefoil spouts should have had such a very erratic history subsequently. It may be observed that trefoil spouts are comparatively uncommon everywhere until the Geometric and Orientalizing Periods in the West, when they become common in the Aegaean area. It may be remarked that cups of trefoil lip shape have been found in the Persian Talyche region (DEP, VIII, figs. 762 ff.). The shape is discussed later (p. 33).

Manchester Museum nos. 412 (KGH, XIII, 90)
 413 (KGH, XIV, 20)
 414 (KGH, XIV, 18)
 415 (KGH, XIII, 89)
 416, 417, 418

Manchester Museum no. 412

Jar, height 3½ inches, of thin ware, medium yellowish-red clay, covered with a brick-red wash, not polished. The vessel has a roughly formed ring-base, and there is a patch of discolouration to grey on one side. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 90.

A 7. OSTRICH-EGG-SHAPED RHYTON

A vessel of the shape called by Sir Arthur Evans the 'ostrich-egg' shaped rhyton (POM, II, p. 225) was found at Kahun (Manchester Museum no. 441). This shape is one which seems to appear in Egypt from as early as the time of the Sixth Dynasty (Qau, I, Plate XXX, 7755), and it becomes more frequent in that land during the time of the First Intermediate Period. Evans considered that the shape appeared in Crete during the M.M. II epoch (POM, II, fig. 129). The evidence at present available suggests that the shape is not native in any of the lands wherein it has so far been found.

Manchester Museum no. 441

Vase, height 5½ inches, of medium brown ware, covered with red wash. The upper part of the vessel is smoothed, but the lower part is a little rough in surface. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 51.

A 8. STAND

Several stands of pottery were found, both of the tall type, usually with a narrow waist, flaring outwards at top and bottom, and of the low collar-shaped variety, the latter being twice as numerous as the former. Many of these have been published by Petrie, as for example in KGH, Plate XII.

Both tall and low stands had been used in Egypt from as early as the time of the Predynastic Period. Their occurrences in the Near East have been discussed in CIG, pp. 189 ff.

A 9. SHALLOW BOWL

There is one example from Kahun of a shallow bowl with rounded bottom and outward-curving rim, a type known in Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period there (Qau, II, Plate LXXXIX, 3). This shape may be of northerly source, for the reason that it is found in parts of the Anatolian area, as for example in Cilicia (AJA, 1947, Plate XCIII, 11) not later than about 2000 B.C. It reappears later in Cilicia.

Manchester Museum no. 362

Bowl, width 11 inches, of medium warm brown clay, the interior surface and the outer edge of the rim being covered with red wash. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 98.



It is clear that one can trace the survival in Egypt, at the time of the Middle Kingdom, of certain types of pottery which had been in use there at the time of the First Intermediate Period and, in some cases, earlier. This, however, does not mean that the civilization of the Middle Kingdom is only a development of

what had been known as an earlier time, and there is a variety of material evidence to contradict any such proposal. For example, the late Third Millennium button-amulets of Egypt, which are paralleled in Persia, Mesopotamia and the Aegean, and of which the distribution may be considered to illustrate the movements of a particular group of Asiatics, disappear from Egypt before the period of the Middle Kingdom. So also do particular kinds of pottery, also known in Mesopotamia, such as drop-shaped pots and vases with imitation spouts. On the other hand there appeared, after the close of the First Intermediate Period, many ideas of new types in several arts, some of which are discussed later (see p. 63). While, therefore, some traditional things, such as ceramic shapes, undoubtedly continued in use, Egyptian culture as a whole may fairly be thought to have undergone a change at the time of the Middle Kingdom. Of this change, a good illustration is given by the pottery fabrics from Kahun which are listed in the following pages, none of which had had a continuous previous use in Egypt.

Certain shapes of vases found at Kahun, so far from being of types known earlier in Egypt, like those described above, are in fact of types known later there, well enough indeed to be considered as typical of the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, some centuries after the time of the Middle Kingdom. They include the handled mug (Manchester Museum no. 454), the jar with a high collar-shaped neck and two handles (Manchester Museum no. 457) and the pilgrim flask (Manchester Museum no. 453), all of which are described below. The occurrence of these shapes at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt seems to imply that there were active in Egypt at about 2000 B.C. people who were accustomed to make vases in styles which were popular some centuries later. There is no reason to suggest that these shapes were of Egyptian source, but they might well be of some foreign origin, particularly since there is evidence to suggest Mitannian and other northern migration to Egypt after 1600 B.C. If they came to Egypt at 1600 as the result of migration from the north, they may very well have come thence at about 2000, also as the result of migration.

Section B

HANDLED MUG

Manchester Museum no. 454 (fig. 4)

Mug, height $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of warm light brown ware, burnt to pale orange-red on the surface, and covered on the outer surface with a yellowish-white to buff slip, polished. The vessel has a ring-base. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 60.

Handled mugs have a fairly wide distribution, though there are no examples anywhere which are certainly earlier than the Kahun example. There was one in Tomb A at Jericho, dated to the Early Bronze Age (SC, fig. 112, 4), and several from Persia. One of the latter is the fine grey polished ware vessel from northern Persia (BMQ, III, Plate XXXIX, a, 1), numbered 120085 in the British Museum, where it is on display. One from Sialk comes from the A Cemetery (Sialk, II, Plate IV, 4), a piece not to be dated before about 1500. Examples from Tépé Giyan are of various shapes (Giyan, Plate XIV, 1; SC, fig. 242, Tomb 10, no. 36), and perhaps of much the same date as the Sialk example mentioned. There are some from Gaza (W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II, Plate XXII, 14; and loc. cit., IV, Plate XLIX, 1687, 34 E²), and one from Megiddo, stratum IX (Me., II, Plate 33, 32). This Megiddo piece is certainly of about the middle of the Second Millennium, as are the handled mugs of Base Ring fabric (BMC, I, ii, Plate I, C 108) and the polychrome decorated mugs found in Palestine and Cyprus (CVA, Belgium, iii, Plate 101, 15). Egyptian examples of about 1500 and later include Theodore M. Davis, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, Plate XXVII, right and centre; Qau, III, Plate XXIX, 198; Sedment, II, Plate LIX, 16; L. Loat, Gurob, Plate III, 105; Labyrinth, Plate XVI, 61; Meydum, Plate XXVII, 128; CVA, Pays Bas, ii, Plate 60, 9. The shape recurs in Geometric times in Greece (CVA, Greece, Athens Nat. Mus., fasc. i, Plate 3, 11).

The handled mug from Kahun (fig. 4) is of precisely the same profile as the vessel of dark grey clay painted in polychrome which Petrie found at Kahun and illustrated in *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*,

Plate I, 1. Only a sherd of the latter was in fact found (it is now in the British Museum), but it is sufficiently large to make possible a reconstruction of the shape. The base alone is not quite certain —it might have been flat, or perhaps it originally incorporated a ring-base.

Section C

JAR WITH A HIGH COLLAR-SHAPED NECK AND TWO HANDLES

Manchester Museum no. 457 (fig. 5)

Jar, height 3½ inches, of light brown ware, covered with a red wash which is now largely destroyed. The vessel has a ring-base. Not published by Petrie.

The shape of jar with a high collar-shaped neck and two handles, rising from the shoulder of the vessel, one on either side of the neck, appears to be uncommon before the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when it is well known in Egypt. The earliest version of this shape appears in the Aegean region, before 2000 B.C. (CVA, Belgium, iii, Belg. Plate 97, 4, 6, 7; Phylakopi, fig. 71). A Palestinian example is probably of the earlier part of the Second Millennium (W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II, Plate XXII, 16). There is a vessel with much the same kind of shape, but with a very low collar-shaped neck, of 2000 B.C., or perhaps even a little earlier, from Tarsus (AJA, 1947, Plate XCIV, 4). There are many examples of about the middle of the Second Millennium (CVA, GB, i, Plate 6, 4; CVA, Poland, i, Plate I, 1; Gurob, Plate XXVII, 32; Sedment, ii, Plate LIV, 3; Theodore M. Davis, *The Tomb of Youiyou and Touiyou*, Plate XXIX, lower half). The shape recurs after the beginning of the Iron Age (CVA, GB, ii, Plate 2, 3; SCE, IV, ii, fig. 5, 4b; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis*, ii, Plate I, 41).

Section D

PILGRIM FLASK

Manchester Museum no. 453 (fig. 6)

Flask, height $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of light red ware, covered with a polished cream slip. Two handles by the neck. Not published by Petrie, but similar to KGH, XIII, 61.

The pilgrim-flask shape, more or less globular and with two handles, one on either side of the neck, is said to have been found in a deposit of pottery vessels of Middle Kingdom date at Byblos (AJA, 1938, p. 173). Similarly shaped vases were found at Troy, in strata which may be of comparable date (SS, p. 34, nos. 630-2), and at Phylakopi, at much the same time (Phylakopi, p. 100, Plate IX, II).

Section E

PYXIS

Manchester Museum no. 467 (fig. 7)

Sherd, width $3\frac{1}{5}$ inches, of orange-red ware, the surface smoothed. Decoration incised with a rather blunt tool. Not published by Petrie.

This object was not mentioned at all in Petrie's books. Since its significance is considerable, it provides a striking illustration of the importance of even fragmentary objects, and of the advisability for excavators of making them all available for future generations of students.

What was found was part of the base, giving the size, and also the fact that the sides were originally concave. There are three small knobs on the under side which would no doubt have acted originally as feet. The sides were decorated with incised chevrons in rows touching each other, arranged diagonally upwards. It represents a kind of ware which is not otherwise known in Egypt at any time, and must presumably be considered as an actual importation. Decidedly similar vessels have been found in

Caucasia (RAC, II, Atlas, Plate XXXVI, 2), and rather less similar vessels come from the Aegean, where they are dated to the very beginning of the Bronze Age (Mesara, Plate XVIII, 4196; BMC, I, i, A. 45 ff.). But apart from those examples, it may be said that circular pyxides with the sides curved inwards are most unusual outside Persia. In that land they occur in the region south-east of the Caspian (Shah Tepe, Plate XXVIII, fig. 205), in the west, being common in Giyan III strata, and in the north-west (examples in the British Museum).

It may be mentioned that a bowl on three little legs, an unusual style in Egypt, was found there in a Twelfth Dynasty context (El Kab, Plate XV, 28).

Section F

BI-CONICAL VESSEL

Manchester Museum no. 383 (fig. 8 and Plate I).

Jar, height $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of medium brownish-red ware, a little roughly made, but with the surface well smoothed. Not published by Petrie.

There is, on this vase, an inscription on the outside in black ink, written in a hand which appears similar to the characteristic hand of the Middle Kingdom in the opinion of Professor Černý, who, however, points out that the letters are not Egyptian, and appear to be of some system of writing as yet unrecognized.

This vessel was full of a fatty material, which was recognized by Professor Bullock of the University of Manchester as being ozokerite, a substance also called ceresin. This is a natural mineral product, closely resembling white wax. It is stated in books of reference to occur in three places only in the world, these being Galicia, on the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and on the Wallachian side of that range, in America and along the shores of the Caspian Sea. Good wax candles are made from it until recently at least. It is also said to have been used for medical purposes, and is stated to resemble tar in its therapeutic properties. It has been used, mixed with glycerine or linseed oil, as a substitute for tar

in the treatment of skin diseases. Since there was but a comparatively small quantity in the jar no. 383, it might be that this supply was for medical purposes. It was not enough to have made more than four smallish candles of the size used today.

The history of this bi-conical shape has been briefly discussed before by the present writer (in CIG). It will be enough at this point to recall that early examples of the shape include a vase of the Alishar III polychrome-decorated pottery fabrics, which are generally believed to date from the close of the Third Millennium, and were doubtless made by folk related to those who introduced Middle Cycladic fabrics to Phylakopi and elsewhere (TAH, 30-2, i, Plate IX, c, 1007). A Palestinian example is illustrated in Gezer, III, Plate CLVI, 3, this being of the Second Semitic period. Egyptian Middle Kingdom examples include Dahchour, p. 108, fig. 251, and a vase in the Ashmolean Museum numbered E 1894, and there are Aegean examples of about the same time (Phylakopi, Plate VIII, 4).

Section G

THE LID

Manchester Museum no. 450 (unperforated lid) (fig. 9)

Lid, width $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of medium brownish-red ware, covered on the top surface by a polished red slip. There are traces of unpolished red slip on the under surface. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 54.

Manchester Museum no. 468 (perforated lid) (fig. 10)

Lid, height $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of grey clay, fired to medium red, both surfaces being rough. There is a hole through the knob to the inside, and there were originally six other holes through the sides. The incised ornament is done with a blunt tool pressed deeply into the surface. Not published by Petrie.

It seems possible that this object could be described as a 'lamp-cover'.

What appears from the publication to be a lid of pottery, per-

haps comparable with the unpierced lid from Kahun, is illustrated in Gizeh, XXV, 51. This came from Cemetery S, which contained many objects parallel to material found at Kahun. It may be pointed out that this Egyptian lid is apparently ornamented with concentric zones on the upper part, mounting in steps towards the centre. Precisely this description is given of one of the lids found at Phylakopi (Phylakopi, p. 198).

Much earlier, however, at the time of the Fourth Dynasty, lids were in use in Egypt, though it seems only for a brief period (H. Junker, *Giza*, I, fig. 10, 7-9).

Pottery lids were in use at different times in other parts of the Near East. For example, they were commonly made at the time of the K Period in Azarbajian, an epoch which ended at about 2500 B.C., when civilization was uniform from Georgia to the region about Van (Az 1948, p. 38). Rather later, at the time of the second half of the Third Millennium, lids were employed at Tépé Gawra in Mesopotamia, in Stratum VI there (Gawra, Plate LXXV, 208), and contemporaneously at Beth Shan (*The Museum Journal, Philadelphia*, XXIV, 1, Plate X, 1-5) and Alaca (R. O. Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, Plate CXXVII, Al 840; H. Z. Koşay, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük*, Plate XXXVI, Al/A295). The lids from Ashur, which appear to be still unpublished, may be of the earlier part of the Second Millennium (Kaiser Friedrich Museum photo no. 4304).

Lids were in use at the time of the earlier part of the Second Millennium in the Aegean area (Eutresis, fig. 249) and in Syria (Me., II, Plate 22, 8), and several have been found at Phylakopi on Melos, some closely similar to lids found at Kahun. It was pointed out in the Phylakopi book that some lids found there 'resemble the example from Kahun' (p. 198), and later in the same book (p. 210) reference is made to a 'bell-shaped utensil of coarse red clay with a tubular orifice at the top; round the upper part are numerous small perforations'. Such a description would suit very well the object which appears to be a lid, and was found at Kahun, which is now numbered 468 in the Manchester Museum collection (fig. 10).

Section H

SPOUTED VASE

Manchester Museum no. 439 (fig. 11)

Bowl, height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of warm medium brown clay, covered with a red slip, not polished. There is a ring-base modelled by hand, and a strip of clay applied at the point where the spout meets the body of the vase, arranged parallel to the length of the spout.

Previous publication, KGH, XII, 24.

Other spouted vessels were found at Kahun. They are as follows:

Manchester Museum no. 437

Vase, height 7 inches, of medium brown-red clay, covered with a dull red wash, which is rather bright in one place, unpolished. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 23.

Manchester Museum no. 438

Vase, height $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of yellowish-red clay, covered with a red wash. The vase has been splashed with white, perhaps for ornamentation. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 19.

Pieces of two tubular spouts were found, broken, perhaps, from similar vessels to those mentioned above.

Manchester Museum no. 464

Piece of spout, hexagonal in external section, existing length $3\frac{1}{5}$ inches. Light brown clay, covered with an orange-red slip, polished. Not published by Petrie.

Manchester Museum no. 466

Piece of spout, length as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of medium brown-red clay, covered with a pinkish-red wash. This spout is ornamented with a ridge running along the length, originally perhaps along the top of the spout, moulded to give an effect like that of the comb of a cock. On either side, a little below the crest of this ridge, are little excrescences with incised marks, shaped and moulded to look not unlike tassels. There are two on one side,

(as now preserved) and one on the other. Not published by Petrie.

Sir Arthur Evans pointed out, many years ago, that a spouted metal vase found at Byblos (P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, Plate CXI, 746), and apparently securely dated to the period of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, is very similar in shape to a faience vase that he found at Knossos. A spouted pottery vase from Kahun (Manchester Museum no. 439, fig. no. 11), is of this same Knossian shape, which is new at this date in Egypt, and this also may be connected with the Byblos piece, not only because of the similarity in shape, but also because there is a little strip of clay on the underside of the spout at the point where it joins the body, a detail of no great value in a pottery vase, though clearly in the case of a metal one the addition of a strengthening strip of metal would not be unreasonable. (It is probably legitimate to assume that in the strip on the Kahun vase may be seen a reminiscence of a metallic prototype.) The Byblos vase is decorated with vertical fluting on the body, a style of ornament which appears also on the silver bowls found at Toud, vessels of the time of the Middle Kingdom, found associated with objects (cylinder seals and pieces of lapis lazuli) which are certainly of eastern source. The manner of vertical fluting, so it has been suggested (by the present writer in CIG), may be of eastern or northern source, and its appearance on the Byblos example of the spouted vessels whose shape is under discussion can well be linked with the fact that that vessel found at Byblos was of much the same period there as torques and toggle-pins, objects certainly not native to Syria, and usually believed to indicate the coming at that time of people from Caucasia.

The shape of the spouted vessel found at Kahun appears elsewhere in Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom (Abydos, III, Plate XI, 14; Riqqeh, Plate IV) the latter having been found in a tomb constructed of fine masonry, the slabs of the roof being arranged in the form of a gable, a type of roof construction which appears during the Second Millennium at Ras Shamra and in Cemetery A at Sialk. There are also examples of this ceramic

shape from Caucasia (RAC, II, Atlas, Plate XXXII, 2), and Cilicia (AJA, 1947, Plate XCV, 9).

Section I

THE FLOWER-POT-SHAPED VASE

Manchester Museum no. 425

Vase, height 5½ inches, of dark grey clay, burnt at the edges to medium red. Covered with a fairly light greyish-red wash on all surfaces. This wash is smoothed by hand. Remarkably delicate quality. Not published by Petrie.

This shape is uncommon in Egypt at about 2000 B.C., but there are parallels to it in Caucasia (SC, figs. 277 and 285) and in Persia (DEP, XXV, p. 191, fig. 24, 13) 'of the Third Millennium'. It appears also in Middle Cycladic times in the Aegean (Phylakopi, Plate XIX, 9, 10).

Section K

PAINTED WARES

Many varieties of painted wares were found at Kahun: most of them have been published by Petrie or Forsdyke. Those to be described here are unusual, and do not illustrate the major categories of painted wares found there.

Manchester Museum no. 459 (fig. 12)

Jug, original height not now ascertainable, of rather gritty clay, medium grey at the core and burnt lighter grey-buff on the outer surface. The vessel is covered with a polished orange-red slip. There is an incised mark under the handle of four lines, the two inner ones vertical and each on either side inclined from above to below towards the inner pair. Not published by Petrie.

The contents of the jug were examined, and yielded a yellow colour, and traces of the wings of insects were found. Such insects would no doubt have come from the above-ground part of the plants from which the product contained was derived.

This vase is painted with four horizontal bands of ornament, each consisting of a narrow line of white paint, bordered on each side by a line of black paint.

Another piece of painted pottery found at Kahun is a cup.

Manchester Museum no. 435 (fig. 3)

For description see p. 8.

The ornament is carried out in two shades of red. In the opinion of Messrs. Pilkington, who are tile manufacturers at Manchester, the colours used were (1) an iron stain, which was on the brown side in effect, and (2) a red slip, the colour being derived from iron. The process of decoration, they suggest, was as follows: Strokes of the brush, filled with the brown iron stain, were applied vertically at intervals on the vertical part of the sides of the vessel. Next, a horizontal band was painted along the top of the outside of the rim with the red iron slip, just meeting the tops of the vertical lines of brown iron. Finally, the intervals between the vertical lines of brown iron colour were (partly) covered with vertical lines painted with the red iron slip.

This is a most unusual, if indeed not unique, example of polychrome ornament. It is of interest here because it demonstrates the presence of polychrome ornament of a kind which may be thought tentative, as no other examples of the style are known. If it is tentative, perhaps it is a vessel which ought to be placed early in the series of polychrome ornamented objects. Certainly this piece is in no way typical of Egypt, for even the shape is at least as popular elsewhere (as for example in the Aegean) as in the Nile Valley, where it appears in any case as a novelty at the time of the First Intermediate Period.

Section L

THE MULTIPLE-SPOUTED VASE

At Kahun were found some examples of a curious type of vase, the essential part of which is a more or less narrow vertical neck, and several spouts, all of roughly the same shape as the

neck, grouped around, and rising vertically from the shoulder or the lower part of the vase.

Manchester Museum nos. 445, 446, 447 (the last previously published in KGH, XIII, 53)

No. 445 (fig. 13). Height 6½ inches, of clay grey at the core, burnt to light brown, and covered with a pale pinkish-terracotta wash, over which a dark plum-red matt paint is splashed, to cover the body below the level of the spouts. Not published by Petrie.

It is possible that one may compare with this shape the *kernoi* of Phylakopi, vessels on top of which are grouped several small cups. These Melian *kernoi* date from the earlier part of the Second Millennium, the same time, in fact, as these multiple vessels found at Kahun. Both at Kahun and at Phylakopi such vases are of a new type, not previously seen, and this would seem to suggest the possibility that here are to be seen vases showing local versions of a common prototype.

Section M

CARINATED BOWL

Manchester Museum no. 368 (fig. 14)

Carinated bowl, height 2½ inches, of pale brownish-red clay, covered with a dull red wash. There is a dab of white paint on the outside, below the rim, and another on the inside surface of the side opposite that dab of paint. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 69.

Two bowls of this shape were found at Byblos, one of bronze (Byblos, I, Plate LXVI, 1) which was found in the same jar as numerous torques (for which see Byblos, I, Plate LXIX). Bowls of similar shape have been found in Caucasia (SC, figs. 285, 8 and 291, 5), and the shape occurs also in the Aegean, at Ialysus, in Mycenean days (Ann., VI-VII, fig. 43, 2730).

Section N

HORIZONTAL RING-VASE

Manchester Museum no. 462

Vase, height 2½ inches, of clay grey at the core, and burnt at the edges to light-brown. All the surfaces are covered with red wash. Not published by Petrie.

This type of vessel (catalogue in CIG, p. 113) was made in Egypt in predynastic times, but not subsequently, save for the present example. It was, however, well known in other Near Eastern lands.

Section O

THE OVAL DISH

Several dishes, or parts of dishes, of oval plan were found. This shape of vessel is believed to belong almost entirely to the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. They are decorated with patterns which may be geometrical, but are usually more or less naturalistic in manner, executed always by incision. Often fish form the major part of such ornament, but other living things, such as lions, take their place occasionally as models for decorative motifs.

Oval dishes:

Manchester Museum no. 474 (KGH, XIII, 107)
 475 (KGH, XIII, 106)
 476 (KGH, XIII, 111)
 477 (IKG, V, 3)
 478 (KGH, XIII, 103)
 479 (IKG, V, 1)
 480 (KGH, XIII, 108)
 481 (KGH, XIII, 110)
 483 (KGH, XIII, 104)
 484 (IKG, V, 4)
 485 (KGH, XIII, 109)
 486 (IKG, V, 5)
 487 (KGH, XIII, 105)

The clay of most of the vessels is a medium red. Sometimes a wash was used, and this is now buff, cream or light red in colour.

Oval dishes appear to be unusual, for there are not many examples from any land of any period. The only collection of any size is the one made by Petrie of examples found at Kahun. Others include black-topped ware examples of Predynastic date from Egypt, and First Dynasty ones (Abydos I, Plate VI, 19-20). Some pieces of more or less similar shape were found at Byblos (Byblos, II, Plates CXL, CCIV), and there is one of about 2000 B.C. from Hama (Rapp. prelim., Plate X, 5). A dish of more or less oval form is illustrated as coming from Caucasia (Mat. archy. Cauc., Plate XLI, 2).

One of the oval dishes from Kahun is of quite peculiar interest. This is the Manchester vessel no. 478, of which only about half now exists. It bears the usual type of ornament, in this case consisting of plain cross-hatching on the bottom, and somewhat roughly drawn floral spray or flower motifs at the end and in the middle of each side. What makes it so interesting is that there are motifs, which may be perhaps alphabetic signs, between the floral motifs. These are certainly much more carefully incised than the ornament, and for this reason alone seem unlikely to be simply decorative motifs. They can be paralleled in South Semitic lists of alphabetic signs, one group apparently consisting of the two signs of B and N, while the other is a K. This piece is referred to later (see pp. 36, 66). It is illustrated on Plate II.

Section P

RED SLIP WARE

There was found at Kahun a greater quantity of plain red slip ware (sometimes polished) than of any other category. Many of the vases are little cups or bowls, too little, perhaps, for the needs of every day and possibly intended for the reception of offerings to the dead. A notable feature of these vessels is the comparative frequency of slight, but more or less well shaped ring-bases,

always modelled by hand. Another feature appears in the curious variety of the colour, which ranges from a dark plum-red reminiscent of Egyptian Predynastic pottery, or Early Anatolian vases, to the comparatively pale red characteristic of Egyptian Fourth Dynasty pottery. Since red vases were not particularly well known at the time of the First Intermediate Period, while a polished surface was then almost rare, it is possible that one should consider that the noticeably high proportion of red polished wares at Kahun suggests the presence then of a new ceramic principle in Egypt. While red polished wares had been made in Egypt before, they had not been continuously manufactured there.

Red polished wares came into use at about 2000 B.C. in several parts of the Near East, as is mentioned on p. 39.

Jar. Manchester Museum no. 294. Height as now 5½ inches. Yellowish-red clay, polished red slip. Previous publication, IKG, IV, 11.

Tall jar. Manchester Museum no. 378. Height 6½ inches. Rather dark brownish-red clay, with red slip, similar in tone to the plum-red slip characteristic of early Anatolian red-slip ware, polished and lustrous. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 15.

Bottle. Manchester Museum no. 379 (fig. 16). Height 6½ inches. Dark red clay, and similarly coloured slip, polished and lustrous.

Small bottle. Manchester Museum no. 388. Height 2½ inches. Grey clay, with red slip, polished, but the surface is now partly destroyed.

Low stand. Manchester Museum no. 316. Height 1⅓ inches. Medium brown ware, and medium red slip.

High stand. Manchester Museum no. 332. Height 9½ inches. Medium red ware, with bright red slip, polished on the outer surface.

Stand. Manchester Museum no. 429. Height 5½ inches. Medium red ware. The inner surface of the top, and the outside of the rim of the stand are covered with a slightly darker red slip. Previous publication, IKG, IV, 15.

Jug with handle. Manchester Museum no. 354. Height 9½ inches. Medium red clay, with medium brown slip, highly polished.

Incised at the top of the shoulder, to the right of the handle, is a mark comparable with that illustrated in POM, IV, 745, no. 59. There is a ring-base.

Jug. Manchester Museum no. 456. Width at widest point $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Light red clay, with polished, slightly darker red slip. Base-ring. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 84.

Jug. Manchester Museum no. 459. Described on p. 20.

Bowl. Manchester Museum no. 367 (fig. 15). Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Brownish-red ware, with rather dark red slip, lightly polished on the outer surface. There is a slight ring-base, moulded roughly by hand.

Bowl. Manchester Museum no. 369. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Light red clay, with red slip, lightly polished, on the inner surface. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 4.

Bowl. Manchester Museum no. 373. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Medium brown clay, with dark red slip, polished.

Bowl. Manchester Museum no. 374. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Darkish brown-red clay, with polished red slip. Ring-base. (There is a similar bowl from Kahun in the Edwards Library.)

Small cup. Manchester Museum no. 399. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Light brown-red clay, with dull brown-red slip, slightly lustrous. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 82.

Small bowl. Manchester Museum no. 406. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Medium brown ware. The inside and part of the outside is covered with a polished red slip.

Small bowl. Manchester Museum no. 407. Height 2 inches. Light brown-red ware, with red slip.

Small jar with trefoil mouth. Manchester Museum no. 413. Height 3 inches. Medium brown ware, with unpolished dull red slip. Ring-base, almost wholly flattened by thumb pressure while still soft. Previous publication, KGH, XIV, 20.

Spouted bowl. Manchester Museum no. 439. Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Warm medium brown clay, with unpolished red slip. Ring-base modelled roughly by hand. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 24.

Small vase. Manchester Museum no. 444. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Medium brown ware, with traces of red slip.

Lid. Manchester Museum no. 450. Described on page 16.

Spout. Manchester Museum no. 464. Described on page 18.

(In the foregoing list, where there is no mention of previous publication, the piece has not yet been illustrated, except for nos. 367 and 379.)

Section Q

THE RING-BASE

The comparative frequency of ring-bases in the red-polished and other wares found at Kahun is a detail of some significance, for ring-bases are not common in pottery found in Egypt, or anywhere else, except at particular epochs.

The earliest ring-base in Egypt appears to be of the time of the Fourth Dynasty (W. M. F. Petrie, Meydum, Plate XXX, 17), but it is only in the Middle Kingdom period, and at Kahun, that the manner is at all well known in that land, except in the case of Base-Ring ware, of the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the source of which appears to lie somewhere to the north-east of Syria.

Section R

THE OGEE-SHAPED BASE

Some of the vessels found at Kahun are made with an unusual shape of base, sharply contracted from the swelling upper part, so as to give an ogee-shaped profile. This shape of base is characteristic of vessels of the Hallstatt period in Central Europe, a period of more than a millennium later. It is also found in Persia and in Caucasia (see p. 35).

Manchester Museum nos. 389, 390 394, 398, 399, 400

No. 389. Tall vase, height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of light warm brown clay, covered with a light red wash over the rough surface. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 68.

Section S

HANDLED JUG

Several jugs equipped with handles were found at Kahun—an interesting fact, because jugs with handles were not at all common in earlier times in Egypt, and consequently their appearance in fairly high proportion now is not to be expected as being in the ordinary course of events. Some have flat bases, and others ring-bases. They have no shaping of the rim to form a spout, nor does a tubular spout appear. One (Manchester Museum no. 354) has an incised mark at the top of the shoulder of the vase, and to the right of the handle, which is comparable to a sign found in the Mycenean B syllabary (POM, IV, p. 745, 59). All the jugs appear to have been made of red clay, and several are coated with a buff or brown slip, only polished in one case, and even then but lightly.

Manchester Museum nos. 292, 352-4, 455

No. 455. Jug, height 4½ inches, of medium red ware, with similarly coloured wash. The base is flat. The vase is wheel-made. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 18.

Section T

BOWL WITH INTERIOR LOOP HANDLE

A bowl with two loop handles fixed to the inner surface of the base was found at Kahun. This might have been intended for use as a lid.

Manchester Museum no. 431

Bowl, height 5 inches, of clay which is grey at the core and fired to light red on the surfaces. The surface is smoothed by hand, but the lower part of the outer surface and the base is scraped and left rough. Previous publication, KGH, XIII, 58.

Vessels with loop handles inside are uncommon, but examples can be quoted from Palestine (Gezer, III, Plate CXLVI, 18: SC, fig. 128, 28).

Section U

VASE WITH HORIZONTAL RIDGES

One example of a tall, roughly made vessel with horizontal ridges at intervals of an inch or more was found.

Manchester Museum no. 381

Vase with horizontal ridges, height $8\frac{3}{5}$ inches, of rather light pinkish-brown clay, the surfaces left rough. Previous publication, KGH, XII, 35.

Tall vases with horizontal ridges are rare. The best known examples are from Troy I, and from early levels at Alishar in Anatolia, at which latter site they are made of rather pale grey clay, well polished. They can doubtless be dated to the very beginning of the Bronze Age in Anatolia. It might be reasonable to suppose that the Kahun example is a late descendant of the tradition illustrated by those pieces.



The sudden appearances without prototypes, and rapid disappearances of many of the types of vases catalogued under Section A above, suggest that they may not be of local Egyptian origins. Since they are all paralleled elsewhere, it could be that they illustrate the coming to Egypt of foreigners who, for a time, could assert themselves in a new land and continue to practise their traditional ways of ceramic manufacture. If so, these visitors to Egypt were apparently no longer self-assertive by 2000 B.C. Much the same could be said of the types of vases of Sections B, C and D, and the additional possibility would arise here that the makers of those vessels came from some area whence, a few centuries later, further bands of migrants spread south to Egypt. If this could be established, that area might well be in the region occupied during the Second Millennium by the Mitanni folk. These visitors also appear to have retained their powers of self-assertion (illustrated by the manufacture of particular ceramics) for comparatively short periods. For similar reasons (rarity in Egypt of, and the presence of foreign parallels for, the wares

described here under Sections E, F, H, and M) it may, perhaps, be suggested that some of the peoples who were living at Kahun had come from, or through, the general area of Caucasia and had migrated to Egypt at the end of the Third Millennium. The vases grouped under the other Sections also suggest that the people of Kahun included Asiatics and other foreigners to Egypt. If indeed such a view is reasonable it would be implied that there was considerable international movement of peoples. Such an idea is not new, for it is many years since the discovery of the Cappadocian tablets was used to suggest widespread trading activities. In the next chapter an attempt is made to survey this matter.

CHAPTER II

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS AND MIGRATIONS

ONE of the many things that appear remarkable about the pottery fabrics of the time of the Middle Kingdom that were found at Kahun is their great variety. Another is the fact that several of the categories involved represent ideas or styles of workmanship not known to have been made use of in Egypt previously. This factor of newness suggests that there might have developed a certain following of foreign ways, a possibility that certainly may be indicated by the presence of parallels between some of the Egyptian fabrics concerned and those of other lands, as has been mentioned in earlier pages. But archaeologists are not agreed about the ways in which such international contacts may have come into existence and developed. One theory to account for this is to the effect that new styles appeared in Egypt, to be adopted for a time, as the result of the coming of migrating peoples. There is some support for this theory in the fact that it has been possible for the writer to suggest in earlier books that at several epochs in the past something of this kind does appear to have occurred. However, another school of thought proposes to see in the parallels mentioned the effect of the exploration and development of trading possibilities between two or more lands.

New types of ceramics appeared at about 2000 B.C. not only in Egypt, but in other parts of the Near East. In Anatolia, for example, the pottery which then came into use, that is, contemporaneously with the Cappadocian tablets, was of types previously not made there. The vessels are usually washed over with a red colour, there being sometimes a panel left uncovered by the colour wash, which was first coated with white, and then filled with a pattern in black. Sometimes a vase would be covered over entirely with white, on which patterns in black would be

drawn. The style of ornament is a variety of polychrome decoration, and for that reason may be linked with Alishar III ware, usually thought to be of somewhat earlier date. There are, however, differences in detail between the two wares. There were in fact several varieties of polychrome ornamented fabrics being made at the close of the Third Millennium all over the Near East, and the opinion has been advanced, since the excavation of Geoy Tepe in Azarbaijan, that one may believe that the reason for their appearance is to be found in supposing that large-scale migrations of peoples from north-easterly lands (lands, that is, in Caucasia and neighbouring areas, not yet known in detail to the archaeologist), had resulted in the coming of new peoples into the Mediterranean area. Certainly if such a movement had occurred, it would provide a not unreasonable explanation of the peculiar parallels between the ceramics found at Kahun and those of approximately the same date at Phylakopi, which are so partial (for they occur in only a few categories) that they are not very likely to have been produced by direct contact between the two areas, and yet, where they occur, they are close enough to make one believe that they must have some more positive cause than mere chance. These parallels, to which attention has already briefly been drawn, appear in the presence in each area of bowls with incurved rims, on which rims there is often ornament, lids of various types, the general idea of the kernos, the biconical shape of vase, and such details as the use of the spiral motif and the pinched or trefoil mouth. Some remarks have been made about these things above, and there is no need to elaborate the matter, but perhaps a few lines may be added about one of these points, the trefoil-shaped lip or mouth, since the history of this detail is an interesting comment on difficulties inherent in the interpretation of ceramic evidence.

It seems to be quite likely that the original way of making a spout for a pottery vessel whereby pouring would be made tidier would have been by pinching part of the rim, as appears in vessels found at Kahun. But already by the time of the Fourth Dynasty jugs with well-shaped trefoil-shaped mouths were being used in Egypt, though only for a brief period (*Hetepheres*, Plate 53 f,

left), while there are some indications (POM, II pp. 57 ff.) that this detail was known elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean at that time (about 2500 B.C.). Thus the very primitive types of trefoil mouth which appear in the vessels of the Kahun collection could not be connected with the earlier examples from Egypt by suggesting that they are descended directly from them, and indeed that would be most improbable for the reason that trefoil-shaped mouths are not found in Egypt during the period between the Fourth and the Twelfth Dynasties. Since there are no known prototypes in Egypt for the trefoil-shaped mouth when it appears at the time of the Fourth Dynasty, it may surely be suggested that the idea of this detail is not to be considered of native Egyptian origin, but introduced thither from elsewhere, and further, that it was introduced to that land on occasions at intervals.

The earliest known example of the trefoil-shaped mouth in the Aegean area is of a little before 2000 B.C. (Phylakopi, Plate IV, 12, with which compare Eph. Arch., 1899, Plate IX, 6). Perhaps at the same time the trefoil-shaped mouth appears in Palestine (at Tell Ay, Syria 16, Plate LVIII: PEFQ, 1953, Plate XL, 2). By about 2000 B.C. the trefoil-shaped mouth was becoming well known in a variety of areas within the eastern Mediterranean region. In Syria, for example (NCEBAM, fig. 18, J: Rapp. prelim., p. 31) and in Cilicia (LAAA, XXVI, Plate LXV, 14 ff.; AJA, 1947, Plate XCIV, 3). By a little later it appears not only at Megiddo, in Stratum XIV (Mc., II, Plate 15, 20-1), but also in the Aegean area (POM, I, fig. 117 C; POM, IV, fig. 53, 4 and p. 84; AM, 1896, Plate XIV, 4 and 5; Eutresis, Plate XV, 4 and p. 156). There are also examples from Anatolia, though perhaps of rather later date (ILN, Oct. 2, 1926, p. 601, fig. 11; TAH, 30-2, ii, figs. 178, 180). After such widespread use it comes as a surprise to find that the idea of the trefoil-shaped mouth disappears entirely from the Near East for several centuries, from early in the Second Millennium until about 1200 B.C., when it again becomes widespread, the first examples from the Aegean being of late Mycenaean date (Myk. Vasen, Plate 37, 382; AM, 1910, Plate V, 3). There are also examples from Cyprus (Cypriote White Painted I ware), and from Crete (AJA, second edition,

V, Plate I), while in Protogeometric days the style was common in the Aegean (Desborough, Plate 15, bottom row, middle, a jug which might well be compared for shape with the jug from the tomb of Hetepheres already mentioned, and Plate 22, 49, which also might be compared with a jug from the Hetepheres tomb (Hetepheres, Plate 51 g)). Payne said that the trefoil mouth was new in the Protogeometric Period, which is not in fact correct (BSA, XXIX, p. 208).

It has been suggested in CIG that the evidence indicates that there must have been migrations towards Greece from the general direction of Caucasia at 1200 B.C., beginning perhaps somewhat earlier, but attaining their maximum at that time, and it could be that such migrations brought with them the renewed practice of making a trefoil-shaped spout, since this detail is known in that area, though its chronology there is unknown (DEP, VIII, figs. 741, 762 ff.). Certainly the disconnected history of the trefoil spout does not suggest that it was of native type in any of the areas of the ancient world known to archaeologists.

There is not yet sufficient evidence available from such areas of the ancient world as northern Persia and Caucasia, the importance of which as possible centres of great inventiveness in prehistoric times is coming to be recognized more and more, to help one to suggest whence came the peoples who introduced into the Near East the ideas of polychrome ornament and the associated ceramic shapes and details. For while those peoples came, so far as the evidence at present available suggests, from the North-East, there are still vast regions quite unexplored in that direction. It is noticeable that the examples of polychrome ornamented pots found at Kahun were associated there with certain things which have parallels, and perhaps even sources, in Caucasia and neighbouring regions. One of these is ceresin, a substance which, when it appeared soon after 2000 B.C. in Egypt, is not very likely to have come from any of its known sources except the shores of the Caspian Sea. Another such object found at Kahun was a torque, with its ends fashioned in the same way as metal objects well known in Caucasia, and appearing also in the

'racquet pins' from Azarbaijan, Ur and elsewhere. The style appears in the hammering flat of each end of the rod of metal forming the torque, and then rolling up the ends of the ribbons so made. Again, there is the pyxis from Kahun (see p. 14) of a type which appears to be likely to have come from Caucasia, as it is well known there, and from which the Early Minoan examples could easily have been derived. The kernos shape, too, is known in Azarbaijan, for there is an unpublished example from there exhibited in the Tehran Museum. Another Kahun object with northerly connections is the strongly carinated bowl (M/c Museum no. 368, described on p. 22) parallels to which have been found in Syria, as has been stated above. Found with those bowls in Syria were torques and toggle-pins, both types of objects which are well known in Caucasia and, when found in Syria, may suggest, as has been pointed out elsewhere, that at that time when they appeared (early Second Millennium) northerners were spreading southwards. The actual shape of the bowl with which we are concerned is known in Caucasia, for examples have been published by Mr. Kuftin, from Kurgan XV at Trialeti, and by Professor Schaeffer, from Beshtasheni. It is, no doubt, just as it might be expected that there was also found in Kurgan XV at Trialeti a bowl with incurved rim, on which there was painted ornament. Yet another detail of the pottery found at Kahun, which is paralleled in Caucasia and related regions is the principle of making the base of the vase with an ogee-shaped profile (RAC, II, Atlas, Plate XXXV, 2; ESA, VII, p. 79, fig. 16; DEP, VIII, fig. 370; BMG, XIII B, Plate XXVIII, 7). There is an unpublished vase from excavations at Rayy, near Tehran, apparently of early date, which exhibits this type of base. Further, there is a Mesopotamian vase with such a base and with incised patterns, formed by rows of dots, as in the little black jugs of the early Second Millennium all over the Near East (Banks, *Bismya*, p. 347). The detail also appears in late Mycenean days (BSA, 42, fig. 16 E.).

Other evidence from Kahun appears to support the theory that peoples were pressing southward from the general direction of Caucasia from before 2000 B.C. This evidence can be traced in the

oval dishes from Kahun (see p. 23). These dishes, which appear to be characteristic of the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, and to be entirely non-Egyptian in tradition, both in shape and in ornament, are best known from Kahun. Their ornament is naturalistic in manner, and incised, and as this combination is most unusual it is reasonable to consider certain fabrics from other lands whereon similar ornament appears. It has been proposed by the present writer, in *Excavations in Azarbaijan 1948*, when discussing the appearance, towards the close of the Third Millennium, of pottery with incised naturalistic designs in the H and G strata at Ashur, the A Period deposits at Kish, at Khafaje and at Phylakopi, that it is possible to suggest that all these occurrences could be due to the spreading of a single people, whose representatives might also have been responsible for the introduction of the G Period civilization at Geoy Tepe, in Azarbaijan. Perhaps these oval dishes in Egypt might be the work of related people. Certainly wherever this manner of ornament appears, it does seem to be of foreign type, though it is not possible to say more than that it does not seem to have come from any archaeologically known land, and is therefore probably of northern or eastern origin. The fragment of the dish no. 478 in the Manchester Museum may have signs incised which are similar to signs used in South Semitic writing, in which case the combination of such incised ornament and alphabetic signs could possibly indicate some kind of connection for such writing with the north or east. In this context there is a piece of evidence of a possible parallel connection. This is an incised seal, bearing an ornamental design of, perhaps, First Intermediate Period type, together with what might be alphabetic signs, found at Sedment in Egypt (Sedment, p. 8, and Plate XIII, 18 and 19). The present writer has provided evidence in earlier books to make the view reasonable that people came to Egypt from the north or north-east at the time of the First Intermediate Period.

It is noticeable of the class of oval dishes under discussion that they did not remain in use in Egypt for very long, being almost unknown after the time of the Middle Kingdom. This recalls the fact of the curiously rapid disappearance of certain other factors of

Middle Kingdom civilization, such as the businesslike activity indicated by the Kahun papyri and the Contracts of Hepjefi.

The possibility of widespread migration in antiquity, whereby ideas passed from one land to another, has long been recognized, but it is a view that has been pressed so strongly on quite insufficient evidence in the past that a more or less unformulated opposition to it has developed. This shows in various ways, one of them appearing in the assumption, often expressed, that national individuality had developed early in ancient times, at least in such lands as Egypt and Mesopotamia. Such a view is supported by the fact that, generally speaking, there were strongly marked local characteristics in the types of objects used in Near Eastern lands at all times. For example, Cretan pottery never resembled the wares characteristic of Cyprus or Egypt, and only rarely those of Greece. In this fact there appear obvious dividing factors between countries in the eastern Mediterranean region. On the other hand, there are uniting factors also, between such countries, so it would appear, for evidence is accumulating to suggest that peoples in antiquity were sensitive to new ideas, and both could and did alter the outward aspect of their civilizations in consequence of their ready reception of new trends in thought and manufacture. The movements of such new ideas and trends were not confined, so archaeological material may be considered to indicate, to the spheres of single lands, such as Mesopotamia or Egypt, but can be traced over considerable areas. Stress will be laid according to individual preference, no doubt, on one or the other of the factors concerned, those uniting, or those dividing cultures of the Near East. But however that may be, neither can be denied as playing a part in archaeological study.

Many archaeologists have agreed in the past, with varying degrees of emphasis, that it is possible to trace the existence of uniting factors between the civilizations of the Aegean world and of eastern Mediterranean countries at about 2000 B.C. One famous exponent of that belief, Sir Arthur Evans, stated that direct connections at that time between Crete and such lands as Syria and its neighbours are implied by the presence in Crete of signet seals, portrait heads, architectural plans and details, and the

leopard-shaped axe-head from Mallia (POM, II, pp. 267 ff.). Though he did not claim any oriental contacts for the light-on-dark polychrome pottery that came to be made or used then in Crete and the Aegaean islands (he was writing before the discovery of pottery decorated with a similar technique in eastern Anatolia and Azarbaijan) he pointed to the similarity between the spiral patterns which came at about this time into great popularity in the Aegaean world and the spiral patterns which appeared in Egypt. He believed that the spiral motif appeared in Egypt as 'a new and sudden introduction into Egyptian art' (POM, II, p. 207) at the time of the Middle Kingdom. That remark is, in fact, not quite correct, as the spiral appeared first at the time of the First Intermediate Period (Matmar, Plate XXXIII), but this does not alter the general truth of his statement. Another parallel between East and West appears in the presence of numerals, as found in Crete, apparently from as early as M.M. I days, incised on pots from Cyprus (AJA, 1940, pp. 40 ff.) which were associated with pottery described as illustrating M.M. I characteristics (AJA, 1940, Plate I, 16). Similar numerals occur also at Phylakopi.

But there is very much more evidence to suggest the presence of factors uniting the civilizations of the Near Eastern world with those of the Aegaean area. There is a group of new types of ceramic wares to be found over a wide region. They include particular shapes of vessel and varieties of technique and style of decoration. Among the former appears a pot which is always more or less basket-shaped, and provided with a handle from side to side of the top. It often has a spout in addition. This shape appears widely at about 2000 B.C., and again towards the end of the Second Millennium. (It also occurs in the black-on-red painted wares of north-central Persia, not yet published, but to be dated to before 3000 B.C.) Examples of vessels of this shape include 'one of the earliest matt-painted vases of Eutresis' (Eutresis, fig. 218 and p. 155), while others come from Hagia Marina (Rev. et Grec., 1912, p. 273, fig. 14), Crete (Mesara, Plate XXX, 4977), Syria, at Megiddo (Me., II, Plate 24, 33) and Tell Ahmar (SC, fig. 192, 1), central Anatolia, at Alaca (SC, pp. 80 ff. and fig. 192,

9) southern Anatolia, Cilicia (LAAA, XXVI, Plate LXIX, 1: AJA, 1947, Plate XCVI, 1) and southern Persia (SC, fig. 249, tomb 9, no. 52), this last being possibly but not certainly of this date. It is interesting to observe that this style of vessel reappears towards the close of the Bronze Age, both in the Aegaean area (BMC, I, i, A 933 ff.) and in central Persia (Sialk, Cemetery B, SC, fig. 258, 13), since it was at about this time (*c.* 1300) that there appears to be considerable evidence to indicate westward migration, a matter which has been discussed at length by the present writer in *The Coming of Iron to Greece*.

Another widely distributed category of pottery of this period of about 2000 B.C. is red polished ware, pieces of which have been found in Egypt, being fairly common at Kahun and occurring elsewhere (W. M. F. Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 43, left column, just above half-way), and at the beginning of the Middle Helladic and Middle Minoan periods in the Aegaean islands (BSA, XVII, p. 19), and contemporaneously in Syria (AJA, 1938, p. 173) and northern Persia (Az, 1948, p. 75).

Yet another widely distributed type of pottery at the very beginning of the Middle Helladic and Middle Minoan periods is illustrated by pieces of grey pottery with incised white-filled decoration. Such pottery is, in the Aegaean area, often called 'Cycladic', because examples of such wares appeared at a very early date in the Greek Islands. Since, however, those islands were occupied early in the Bronze Age by people using metal tools and weapons, and metal deposits are not known to exist in the islands, the title may be a misnomer, for since the people there at that time must almost certainly have come thither, from outside, presumably their utensils may be described as of foreign, non-Aegaean type. There is no evidence to suggest that when the people came they spontaneously evolved these types of ceramics under purely local inspiration. And it is surely significant that a shape frequently made in those early times in the islands was a pyxis on three little feet, a shape which was, as has been mentioned above, common in Caucasia, whence the first metal-using people may have spread. This same type of pyxis on three little knob feet appears again at the period of the beginning of the Middle

Bronze Age in the Aegean, at about 2000 B.C. (POM, I, fig. 118 b, 3), after some considerable time had passed since similar vessels had been in use in the area. And contemporaneously lids ornamented with the same kind of incision appear in Crete (POM, I, fig. 118 b, 1 and 2) and in Greece (Eutresis, fig. 254 and p. 233). On a lid from Greece there is a motif of two triangles touching at their apexes, and filled with dots (Eutresis, fig. 254), a motif which also appears, this time in painted ware, in Cilicia at more or less similar date (AJA, 1947, Plate XCV, 2). This detail was also common in Greek Island wares of the beginning of the Bronze Age, and its re-appearance after a great gap in time is perhaps an indication of a renewal of migration from some region where this particular style of pottery has lasted long. It could hardly be due to a purely local revival of traditions of long before, for one finds, at this same time of about 2000 B.C., that much the same kind of ornamental style appeared in southern Persia (DEP, VIII, p. 142, fig. 287, a vase contemporary, it appears, with polychrome painted ornament and multiple vases in that region), and it may not have been very much later in Egypt, where it appears first at Kahun (IKG, Plate I, 17, 20) and in Syria, at Megiddo (Me., II, Plate 24, 31-2) and Atchana (SC, fig. 97). It hardly seems likely that this manner of decoration would have been invented independently in several adjacent areas at about the same time. Some common source appears to be much more probable, though it is difficult to point to the area where such invention might have occurred. Still, some of the sherds of this black-polished incised ware from Kahun show the style of ribbons of pattern against a background of dots, a style characteristic also of incised neolithic pottery at Knossos (POM, II, i, fig. 3, t), and it will no doubt be recalled that sherds of a fabric like the Knossos Neolithic were found by Lawrence on the Syrian coast. Perhaps this manner of ornament originated in Syria?

There are other introductions of new ideas which may be mentioned as appearing at this time of about 2000 B.C. in the Aegean, which can be paralleled in the east, and in Egypt. For example, there are vessels of pottery in animal or bird form (there are catalogues of the appearances of such things available in *The*

Coming of Iron to Greece, p. 75). Yet another parallel between east and west occurs in the use made in many lands of the multiple shape of vase, a type which had been made contemporaneously in the west with the early 'Cycladic' incised wares, but subsequently went out of fashion, to reappear, like incised fabrics, at about 2000 B.C. or a little later. An example from the Aegean area of that later epoch was found in Greece, at Aphidna (AM, 1896, Plate XIV, 4 and 5); examples from many lands are catalogued in *The Coming of Iron to Greece*, on p. 115. Again, a parallel appears in the presence of the 'pilgrim-flask' shape of vase, of which, apparently, an example thought to be of about 2000 B.C. was found on Melos (Phylakopi, Plate IX, 11, and p. 100). This vase has matt-painted decoration, in which there appears the motif of parallel lines enclosing a row of large dots, a motif commonly found in Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom (Qau, III, Plate XXIX, 200). The appearance at this early time of the pilgrim-flask shape, something very well known in Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom, appears to parallel the presence of other ideas well known at the time of the Egyptian New Kingdom, in the deposits of soon after 2000 B.C. at Kahun (see p. 11 above). Vessels of more or less the 'pilgrim-vase' shape had been made at an earlier time in eastern lands, there being an example from Hama in Syria (Rapp. prelim., Plate IV, 4); and another from Persia; (SC, fig. 238, 23). The shape occurs at about 2000 B.C. in Anatolia (so it is said; SC, fig. 182, 10) and at Byblos (AJA, 1938, p. 173).

There is also the detail of the ring-base. This occurs in Middle Cycladic days in the Aegean (Phylakopi, Plate XVI, 11, 14 and p. 108). It is not common in the west in early days, but had been known and used from a very early time indeed in the east, as for example in ware of before 3000 B.C. (Az 1948, fig. 4: C. L. Woollay, *Ur Excavations*, IV, Plate 52; Gawra, Plate LXII). But subsequently the detail becomes rare, though it appears in Gawra Stratum VI (SC, fig. 91, 31), until about 2000 B.C. (Ug., II, fig. 101, 34; SC, fig. 136; SC, fig. 142, 25, 18 etc.; Me., II, Plate 11, 10; LAAA, 19, Plate LIII, 15). The ring-base is known from Caucasia, where it is not dated (SC, fig. 225 D and E).

The *kernoi* of Phylakopi have been mentioned earlier. Such

vessels, supporting numerous spouts, or little cups or other things, occur in Caucasia (there is an unpublished one in the Tehran Museum, supporting three little pots, two figurines of birds and one human figurine, while there is one illustrated in Mat. archy. Cauc., p. 242, fig. 198) and are known at about 2000 B.C. in several lands (R. Englebach, *Harageh*, Plate XL, 70 G; Me., II, Plate 16, 21; AJA, 1938, p. 173; AJA, 1940, Plate VII, 75, 76; SCE, I, Plate CII, 7).

Clearly there is a considerable mass of evidence to suggest that particular ceramic styles appeared in several widely spaced lands at about 2000 B.C. There may be no significance in such a thing at all—it might be due, in fact, to chance. It might, on the other hand, be due, as has been suggested above, to the dissemination of new ideas as the result of the spreading of peoples with different ideas from those popular and in use before their coming. Or it could be due, maybe, to the dissemination of new ideas through the agency of trade. This latter possibility is discussed in a note at the end of this chapter (see p. 51).

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There have been references in earlier pages to happenings in Greece at the time of the Middle Helladic Period, which began at about the time of the occupation of Kahun, and it has been suggested that new ideas, and perhaps migrating peoples, came to the Aegaean world from more easterly lands at that time. If this is correct, it is a matter which should shed light on the question of trade vis-à-vis migration. It is, in itself, a most interesting subject, and all the more so because it was at a time which has never been studied from the point of view of the possible international relations of the Aegaean peoples. A brief review of the matter follows.

It would not be easy to find a greater change in almost every way than that which developed in Greece at the close of the Third Millennium. A new civilization had appeared after the wholesale destruction of towns and villages at the end of the Early Helladic Period, when a virtually complete cultural break can be observed. At Eutresis, which provides perhaps the best illustration of the artifacts of the time, the new pottery fabrics include

Burnished wares, Polished wares, including Grey Minyan pottery, and matt-painted ware, while a little later Polychrome painted ware came on the scene. All of these things are of types not previously known in the West, but all have parallels in western Asia. The Burnished wares include red polished pottery, perhaps similar to the red polished wares from Kahun and elsewhere in western Asia of this date, and brownish wares, one example of which (*Eutresis*, Plate XI, 1) is a pyxis on three little feet, the sides being lightly concave and ornamented with horizontal fluting. The shape, the feet and the horizontal fluting are all paralleled at Kahun in vessels discussed above, and elsewhere, as stated there. Grey Minyan ware appears to be paralleled in parts of western Asia, and closely similar wares are reported from Alishar (probably sub-Neolithic, sherds in the collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, presented through the present writer by the representatives of the Oriental Institute of Chicago), Azarbaijan (Az, 1948, p. 87, note 11) and Nineveh (LAAA, XVIII, p. 109; B-B Studies, p. 29, fig. 2). Mr. Hutchinson, who was Dr. Campbell Thompson's first assistant at the excavation at Nineveh, pointed out that there are parallels between grey polished wares found at Nineveh, and Grey Minyan fabrics from the Aegean. A later assistant at that excavation, Professor Mallowan, said that the parallels between the Nineveh grey wares and grey wares found elsewhere were closest with fabrics from north-western Persia. It is unfortunate that the Nineveh grey wares have not been described at all fully by anyone. They are, however, stratified, and appear to belong to early dates, well before the end of the Bronze Age, which can be conventionally placed at 1200 B.C. It was at that latter time that grey ware became common in north-western Persia, though it had also been made earlier at such sites as Geoy Tepe. But such pieces as exist from the earlier time are extremely fragmentary, as are nearly all the pieces from Nineveh, an unfavourable circumstance for the tracing of parallels. The view expressed by Hutchinson is, however, indisputable, and evidence discovered more recently reinforces the impression of connections between east and west as indicated by the evidence of grey wares.

Minyan ware in the Aegaean area must have had some kind of antecedent somewhere. Such a very experienced archaeologist as Professor Blegen tends to suggest that it was derived from the grey wares of earlier times made at Hissarlik and elsewhere on the Anatolian shore of the Aegaean. On the other hand, Dr. Goldman has stated that it has connections at sites farther to the east. Actually, the closest parallel to any category of Minyan ware is the grey-black polished ware of the A Period in Azarbajian, which is closely similar to Argive Minyan ware in shape, colour and decoration (compare *Az* 1948, p. 154, no. 101, with *Eutresis*, fig. 181; *AM*, 1927, fig. 1; *BCH*, 1906, fig. 10). The A Period in Azarbajian is believed to date from not before about 1200 B.C., much later than the time of Argive Minyan ware so that, if the similarity is not accidental, the most reasonable thing to suggest is that there was some source from which this peculiar type of ware was derived—on two separate occasions—in lands known to the archaeologist. If so, then presumably that source would have been in Asia, for there is no reason to suggest that the Azarbajian A Period fabrics are of any but eastern origin. But this does not take us to north-western Persia as the source, and on that point it is as yet necessary to reserve judgment.

Another category of pottery which appears to be of about 2000 B.C. and to be of eastern source is Nineveh V painted ware. It is, perhaps, of interest to point out that the pedestalled bowl-shape characteristic of Aegaean Grey Minyan ware (*Eutresis*, fig. 184, 3) appears duplicated in this painted Nineveh V ware, even to the extent of the horizontal fluting on the stem (LAAA, XIX, Plate LVI, 3 and 5). Such fluted stems occur also at Alaca, perhaps of not very much earlier in time (SC, fig. 177, 8).

The style of ornament in painted dark-on-light pottery in the Aegaean area changed at about 2000 B.C., with the beginning of Middle Helladic/Cycladic Period and the introduction of matt-painted ware. A marked change occurred at the same time in the ceramic shapes employed, one characteristic example being the bowl with incurved rim, of which the ornament was normally a wash of red or brown on the lower part, the outer surface of the rim being coated with white and bearing simple patterns in matt

black (Phylakopi, pp. 106, 143). This type of ware appeared, according to the late Dr. Mackenzie, before the end of the First City of Phylakopi, and became well known at sites on the Greek mainland (BSA, XXII, p. 183. Compare Phylakopi, Plate XXXIII, 3, with Eutresis, figs. 175, 209, 1, and BCH, 1906, fig. 27). It appears also in Cyprus (AJA, 1940, Plate I, 16).

The factor of newness referred to might suggest that stranger people had arrived in the Aegaean area, to bring new ideas with them, and it is a fact that this shape of bowl with incurved rim, on which is simple dark-on-light ornament in very much the same style as in the Aegaean bowls, appeared during the B Period at Tarsus in Cilicia, no doubt of much the same period as the beginning of the Middle Cycladic epoch in the west (AJA, 1947, Plate XCV, 4 right). Tarsus had witnessed the beginning of the use of dark-on-light ornament there rather earlier, before the close of the A Period (AJA, 1947, p. 382), and it appears that the ceramics there are, for the most part at this epoch, not so similar to the wares which now began to come into general use in the Aegaean area as to the wares of the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It could therefore be possible that what was happening was the coming of people with novel ceramic ideas (so far as the Aegaean area was concerned) from the east, travelling westwards. This possibility appears to be supported by other evidence, from central Anatolia, where, shortly before 2000 B.C., a civilization characterized by a completely strange and novel kind of pottery, in comparison with what had been made before there, came into use. This ware, which was ornamented with patterns decorated in polychrome, was made in new shapes, one of which was the bowl with incurved rim, on which were simple patterns very much of the same style as those found on the incurved rim bowls of the Aegaean area. The ware is known as Alishar III ware (SC, Plate XLVII, top right-hand group). Most of the Anatolian examples of this variety of bowl happen to be ornamented in polychrome, but as a matter of fact there are Anatolian examples of the same shape decorated in simple dark-on-light, one of which was found by the writer at Malatia in 1929, and presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum. Of this the simple geometric ornament on

the rim is executed in matt black. The closest parallel is to be seen in some Middle Helladic bowls with matt-painted ornament from Aphidna (AM, 1896, Plate XV, 4-6) and Argos (BCH, 1906, fig. 27). Perhaps there is some relationship between these vessels and the bowls of the Nineveh V Period in northern Mesopotamia, but the differences are such that if indeed there was any relationship it would probably have been due to common origin rather than any direct connection (LAAA, XIX, Plates LIII; LIV, 4). The incurved-rim bowl shape also occurs in Azarbaijan (Az 1948, fig. 24; 40, 1641; fig. 27, 44).

If indeed the evidence of these bowls with incurved rims suggests the coming of easterners to known lands, then it is not surprising that there is a single example of such a bowl with painted ornament on the exterior of the rim from Egypt, dated to about this time (T. E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, ii, Plate XXIX, third row from the bottom, second from the left), for migrations on such a scale could well have left traces in the south. The rarity of such bowls in Egypt is surely indicative of the likelihood that they are the work of strangers there, and not of any locally developed style.

At the time of the beginning of the Middle Helladic Period in the west, contemporaneously, therefore, with the earliest of the bowls with incurved rims which have just been mentioned, pottery with patterns in white on the (usually) red clay appeared in the Aegean area. A good example from Melos has been illustrated (Phylakopi, Plate XIII, 15). It is believed by Dr. Goldman, among others, that this ware, in Greece, is not directly descended from the light-on-dark decorated fabrics of the Early Minoan III Period (Eutresis, p. 125). It is a fabric which is paralleled at Kahun (IKG, Plate I, nos. 3 and 5) and was from the beginning simple in decorative style. Being, very possibly, a new introduction in style at this time, it is of interest to observe that pottery adorned with simple light-on-dark patterns appears at what may be very much the same time in eastern Anatolia (LAAA, XX, pp. 60-1) and northern Mesopotamia (LAAA, XVIII, pp. 108 ff.), while more or less similar wares are dated to the beginning of the Second Millennium in Syria (Rapp. prelim.,

Plate VIII, 4; NCEBAM, fig. 19, G ff.). A variety of light-on-dark ware appears contemporaneously in the red-on-black ware of Cyprus, and in this also the patterns are of extreme simplicity.

Aegean dark-on-light matt-painted wares have been divided into three classes (BSA, XXII, pp. 183 ff.), the first and earliest being ornamented with more or less rectilinear patterns, the next with curvilinear, floral or animal designs, and the third in polychrome. The second class seems to be very well represented at Phylakopi, where the elaboration of the ornamentation is remarkable, displaying a vitality and inventiveness, coupled with unusual avoidance of any restraint. In Greece itself the first class is the best represented, and the simplicity and lack of imagination is in strong contrast to the character of the Island fabrics. Generally speaking, there is nothing in particular to comment on as regards these mainland wares; the patterns do, however, include certain motifs which are not common, and have parallels elsewhere. For example, the circle ringed by a line of dots (Eutresis, fig. 211, 5) occurs also at Kahun (IKG, Plate I, 1) and at Melos (Phylakopi, fig. 90). The curious triglyph-like pattern (Eutresis, fig. 214) is perhaps to be compared with the ornament on a sherd of light-on-dark pottery from eastern Anatolia (LAAA, XX, p. 61, fig. 13). The butterfly motif with fringes (Eutresis, fig. 217), which appears at Nineveh (LAAA, XX, Plate LV, 2), has been discussed elsewhere (CIG, p. 278). Normally, pottery of this period in the west tends to be rough and heavy, but there are examples of a remarkably delicate fabric, both in texture and in ornamental style, from both Greece (Eutresis, Plate XV) and Melos (Phylakopi, Plate XVIII, 24). A rather more elaborate pithos than the usual run found at Eutresis (Eutresis, Plate XIII) is of some interest in so far that its ornamental system appears to have much about it that was also known in Early Iron Age days in the eastern Mediterranean area (this point has been discussed in CIG, p. 210, n. 103, and elsewhere).

There is, in fact, quite remarkably little in common between the first and second groups of matt-painted wares in the Aegean area. The second group is not only characterized by curvilinear

patterns, but also by a most unusual sense of decorative quality, coupled with vigour and vitality, entirely without parallel in the first group. It could not be denied that the mental make-up of the people who produced the really quite remarkable pottery found at Phylakopi and catalogued in the publication in Sections 8 and 9 was decidedly not the same kind of thing as appears to characterize the people who made the pottery of Section 7 of the Phylakopi book, or the people who made most of the Middle Helladic wares found in Greece. There are certain things which may prove to be significant about the people who produced the curvilinear patterned pottery of Phylakopi at this time. They frequently used varieties of the spiral in their wares, a motif comparatively uncommon earlier (Phylakopi, Plate XIII, 9, 12, 13; Plate XIV, 9; Plate XIV, 10; Plate XVI, 7). They also made use of a drawing of the human face, but without a body or limbs attached, as a decorative motif (Phylakopi, Plate XIV, 9). A third curious detail about their pottery is the use made of the technical trick of varying the thickness of the lines, sometimes thick, sometimes thin (Phylakopi, Plate XVII, 33), and a fourth appears in the use of blots formed in the shape of a falling drop of liquid, that is, in a more or less pear-shaped form (Phylakopi, Plate XVI, 9). Finally, they used a kind of prototype of the pattern known as palmette (Phylakopi, Plate XVI, 19). These somewhat unusual details may, perhaps, indicate certain possibilities about the people concerned, and these will be discussed below, after a brief reference to the contemporary wares of Crete (see pp. 69–71).

At the beginning of the Second Millennium Crete saw the manufacture both of dark-on-light and light-on-dark wares, but it was not long before the former category disappeared, and only light-on-dark wares were made. At first these were decorated in a very simple style, bearing little more than straight lines of white paint (POM, IV, i, p. 83, fig. 51, 18), a style comparable with that of a vase found at Kahun and mentioned above (on p. 20). These early post-2000 B.C. Cretan fabrics are as strongly contrasted with the Early Minoan III ceramics as they are with the elaborate Kamares wares of a little later in date, which are decorated in polychrome light-on-dark, and which reveal an extraordinary

feeling for abstract design, coupled with a highly sensitive reaction to colour. It is interesting to notice that some of the unusual motifs found in the curvilinear-decorated wares of the Middle Cycladic period at Phylakopi occur also in these later Middle Minoan fabrics (the Kamares wares), such as the line varying in thickness (POM, I, Plate I K; Plate II a), the pear-shaped blot (POM, I, p. 185, fig. 134 c; p. 234, fig. 176), the prototype of the palmette (POM, II, Plate IX, d.1) and the spiral (POM, I, p. 201, fig. 150). Other remarkable points about these Cretan fabrics is that there is a tendency to a lack of symmetry in the design (POM, IV, Plate XXX B), and that there is considerable use made of large roundels of ornament (Unpub. Palai., Plate XI).

At Kahun there were found both examples of very simply patterned dark-on-light and light-on-dark wares, and also of rather more elaborately ornamented fabrics. Some appear to be possibly of Cretan manufacture, in that they bear patterns, and are of clay, more or less closely paralleled in Crete (BMC, I, i, p. 92); others are paralleled in Greece to some extent (BMC, I, i, p. 50, A 278-9), while certain sherds have no parallels at all as at present known (IKG, Plate I, nos. 1, 2). Presumably the people who made the light-on-dark wares found at Kahun did not all come from the Aegean world, for that region is so well known nowadays that it is highly improbable that unique types of pottery are yet to be found there. But if some of them came from some source other than the Aegean world, may not others also? It would, in any case, not be very likely that peoples came from different sources to a single land at one and the same time to introduce versions of the same ceramic principle. Perhaps the answer to so tangled a skein of material is that the people who introduced the idea of polychrome light-on-dark ornament on pottery, and who developed it in various ways in different lands, came originally from some source at present undefined, to bring it to Egypt, and to the Aegean. In this case it may be significant that polychrome light-on-dark ornamented pottery, of somewhere near 2000 B.C., has been found in north-western Persia (Az 1948, Plate X, 50).

The principle of polychromy appeared first, so far as the lands on the Mediterranean coasts were concerned, in Egypt, at the time of the First Intermediate Period (Sedment, p. 10, and Plate LXVI, 2), and although it was then rare there, it was not infrequent at Kahun. Subsequently it vanished from Egypt, to reappear at the time of the Second Intermediate Period. It came into use in the Aegaean world at the beginning of the Second Millennium in Crete, and only rather later appeared in Greece, where it constitutes the third group of matt-painted wares. It is uncertain whether or not one may believe that light-on-dark and dark-on-light polychromy are but two facets of a single ceramic principle. This is, however, assumed in this place to be correct. It may be significant that polychromy appeared at before 2000 B.C. in Egypt, for the First Intermediate Period does seem to have witnessed the coming of ideas paralleled in western Asia, and to have been a time of migration from Asia to the south. Consequently the idea of polychromy might have come then from farther to the north. Polychromy had been practised, so it appears, before 2000 B.C. in certain parts of western Asia, as for example at Susa (Az 1948, p. 88), and at Ur (R.C., Plate 186). It may also have been made at so early a time in Azarbaijan, since the D Period wares there have been linked with Aegaeon wares of before 2000 B.C. (Az 1948, p. 85). Alishar III ware, also decorated in polychrome, is usually supposed to date from before 2000 B.C., and it may be that the earliest polychrome ornamented pots in Cilicia, dating from the B Period there, are of much the same period. So also in Syria (Me., II, Plate 8, 8-9; Rapp. prelim., Plate IX, 4).

The principle of polychromy in ornament of pottery seems, therefore, to be earlier in the east than in the west, and not to be common enough anywhere early except in western Asia to be likely to have any but an Asiatic source. It constitutes, it may be urged, a unifying principle or undercurrent at 2000 B.C., in the development of Near Eastern civilizations, despite their marked individuality on the surface, shown by the differences between the typical manufactures of various areas. But surely this individuality is what might be expected, under the conditions of the times?

Strong local individuality is perceptible today, and there is no reason to suppose that it would have been less then. If indeed it were so, the international parallels which have been discussed above would appear to take on an even greater significance than has, perhaps, been appreciated in the past. Thus, without minimizing the importance of purely local development of peoples, it may be advisable to increase the attention to be directed to the international parallels between their cultures, and, what is probably more important, the causes of those parallels. In the view of the writer, the causes of those parallels can be summarized by the statement that there appears to have been a variety of peoples slowly migrating into the Near East during the latter part of the Third Millennium, and for a while subsequently, groups of whom had inherited the general idea of polychrome ornament, but who were highly individualistic, and both ready for, and capable of, developing that idea differently in different lands.

There were no further introductions of new ceramic ideas to Greece at the time of the Middle Helladic Period, which ceased at about 1600, when entirely new ideas, not only in pottery, but in architecture and in other things, appeared. The change here was, however, more gradual than had been the change at about 2000 B.C. It may, for all that, have been due to a similar cause, the coming of new peoples from the East.

NOTE ON TRADE

If trade had flowed, similarities between the goods of various lands should occur. They are noticeably unusual. Surely if goods had been manufactured on a scale sufficient to fill ships or burden caravans, one would expect to see coming from excavations many closely similar objects, either from a place of manufacture, or from places where they were disposed of. But it is decidedly rare to find quantities of objects of mass-produced type, of, say, the scent-bottle category and of sufficiently good quality to be worth exporting. (It is, of course, possible, as some archaeologist has suggested, that manufacturers concentrated on the local preferences of different places, and altered their types of production to

suit. But this is, perhaps, straying a little from attention to what the material itself can tell to the student.) Movement of materials there undoubtedly was, as can be observed in the presence of stone in Sumerian buildings in the Mesopotamian plain, or of logs of cedar in Egypt. But there is no evidence that it was reciprocal in those, or in any other cases, and one-way importation is not trade, as that word is understood today. There is one aspect of the movement of goods that is especially relevant here, the movement of small covetable objects, such as coloured stones. Lapis-lazuli is an excellent example. This stone is believed not to occur in nature in or even near Egypt, but it was made use of by the Egyptians from a very early date indeed for figurines and decorative purposes. It belongs to that category of things which is under all conditions suitable for trade, since it is unusual, easily portable, beautiful and useful. If people had really been interested in carrying on trade over vast distances, here, surely, is one of the things they would have concerned themselves with. Why, therefore, is it that the amount of lapis found to date in Egypt, a land which has been ransacked for generations for saleable objects of antiquity, as well as by excavators, has so far amounted to no more than could be explained by the coming of a traveller from time to time, carrying a small bag containing some pieces only? One could hardly postulate a caravan or a ship-load in transit with so little material. There is another illustration of much the same situation in the presence of a single vase at Ur of a stone similar to laminated Aragonite. This is closely paralleled in a vein of rock near Tabriz, there being no archaeological parallels elsewhere known to the writer. It is a lovely material—surely if trade had been organized more vessels of it might have been found?

It is a fact that archaeological evidence is ample in some directions, and virtually non-existent in others. Consequently hypotheses are inevitable, and such a matter as trade cannot either be proved to have occurred, or disproved. But it is advisable to safeguard oneself against either placing undue reliance on an attractive theory, or against failing to mark the implications of negative evidence. It seems to the writer that the latter possibility forms

a greater snare than is often realized. This seems to be well illustrated by the case of the Cappadocian tablets.

The assertion has often been made, and for a very long time now, that there were 'trading colonies' of people who wrote, and no doubt spoke, Assyrian, in various places in Anatolia, including Kul Tepe. The evidence is purely philological, and is provided by certain documents, the most frequently quoted being the Cappadocian tablets. These come from Anatolia, northern Syria and Iraq, and belong to the same period as the pottery from Kahun which has been described in earlier pages. The tablets are stated by the competent authorities to refer to metals and textiles, amongst other things, and the assumption has been made, and has also been widely accepted, that people had gone to such places as Kul Tepe from Assyria and neighbouring lands in order to establish bases from which to organize the exploitation and export of Anatolian metals for the use of the inhabitants of Assyria. Since textiles are mentioned in the texts, according to the philological experts, it is perhaps conceivable that textiles were sent from Assyria to be used for exchange. This is in fact the view which has been expressed with considerable conviction by Professor Sidney Smith, Dr. Gurney and many others, none of whom, however, have brought forward any archaeological evidence in support of it. Despite their conviction, then, it cannot be accepted as an archaeological fact at all, and should be viewed as a theory. A brief examination of this theory follows.

There can be little doubt that everyone had a use for metals in antiquity, and it is reasonable to suppose that they would have been sought, possibly at some considerable distance. But Kul Tepe, and the other Anatolian sites where the Cappadocian tablets have been found, are a very long way from Assyria, and in fact considerably farther thence than the deposits of copper which exist at Arghana, where the veins are said to be very rich, so much so that it seems likely that they would have attracted notice by 2000 B.C. It has even been said that native copper exists there, and this, if correct, makes it almost certain that the deposits would have been made use of from a very early date indeed. If that were so, why should students accept the theory that Assyrian caravans

or porters travelled hundreds of miles past Arghana and over country that is difficult to police even today, in order to bring back a highly desirable commodity which could be found much nearer home? Some student has said that the caravans would have had strong police escort. (It would have been advisable.) To make such an assertion, however, is to enter a somewhat hypothetical world, and it is perhaps wiser in archaeology to confine oneself to what can be considered open to demonstration. In the case under consideration, it can be noted that the alleged Anatolian sources of metals in the vicinity of the places where Cappadocian tablets have been found are much farther from Assyria than certain other possible sources.

The philologists state that textiles were exchanged for metals at such places as Kul Tepe by merchants who wrote in Assyrian. It would be, unfortunately, most unlikely that any trace now of such textiles would appear in excavations, so concrete support of this opinion may never be forthcoming. In a way, therefore, it seems almost unfair to criticize it. But is it, in fact, a convincing view? Metals were, certainly, useful, and were doubtless much in demand. Were foreign-made textiles much in demand at Kul Tepe and the other places? After all, textiles had been made everywhere in the ancient world for a long time before 2000 B.C. as is demonstrated by vast quantities of objects. Is there any reason at all to suggest that the Anatolians were less skilled in the manufacture of textiles than any other people of antiquity? Perhaps it will be argued (as a hypothesis) that the textiles made in Assyria were so wonderful that they were quite irresistible and certain to evoke a demand. This could be, no doubt. But if it were so, why were such things not used for exchange purposes with other peoples, and at other times? Such a possibility has never been suggested, and there is no support for it, at present.

Perhaps one may suggest that what has just been said does not encourage the student to accept wholeheartedly the theory which has been put forward by Professor Smith and his followers. It is, however, only a small part of the evidence which is available. There is further reason for dissatisfaction with that theory provided by the tablets themselves. For example, if the tablets refer

to trading (even if only simple exchange or barter) over very considerable distances, it would surely be extraordinary if they did not refer to the means employed in the movement of personnel and goods. Yet, so Professor Gadd tells the present writer, the normal Assyrian word for 'caravan' (*harranum*) is not common in them, decidedly less common than might be expected in inscriptions which are stated to be concerned with 'sending' in various forms of various commodities. Again, while the heart of the theory expressed by Professor Smith and others is the view that 'traders' from Assyria had settled in Anatolian cities in order to move cargoes of metals thence to 'the city', a place stated by the philologists to have been Ashur, Lewy has stated that metals, and especially the most commonly mentioned, *annakum* (a word said to mean either lead or tin), were moved from 'the city' to places in Anatolia. Although such seemingly contradictory opinions are expressed, it remains a fact that the various scholars who have studied the matter, and include S. Smith, J. Lewy, A. Goetze, and B. Landsberger, all believe firmly that international trade between Assyria and Anatolia was energetically prosecuted at the beginning of the Second Millennium. These views are accepted today as indisputable by most people, though the objections to them, including the few briefly sketched above, appear to have been overlooked. It is most unlikely that the views of the great scholars mentioned above would be called in question, especially since there are several who think in the same way. It may, however, be pointed out that 'history provides examples of people agreeing about a certain thing, and all being wrong about it'. The opinion proffered here is not that these authorities are wrong, but that they are tending to read into the inscriptions from Cappadocia more than is at present justifiable.

The Cappadocian tablets show conclusively that there were people in Anatolia somewhere near 2000 B.C. who wrote in Assyrian, and doubtless spoke it also. The material written in them suggests that those people were engaged in business affairs. But the Assyrian that they wrote is far from proving that they came from Assyria, and this is a point which it is interesting to consider.

The Cappadocian tablets are of a category that appears quite

suddenly in many parts of eastern Anatolia at the very beginning of the Second Millennium. The language in which they are written is closely related to Old Assyrian, a language related, according to Sidney Smith, to Akkadian through derivation from the same source. But Assyrian was not a static language. According to van der Meer, it was in course of changing at about the time when the Cappadocian tablets were being written, one element of this change appearing in the introduction of certain elements found also in those tablets. Van der Meer is also of the opinion that the dynasty then ruling Assyria was not indigenous, and that, further, those who wrote the Anatolian tablets were, very likely, West Semites or Aramaeans. Smith has stressed the fact that the Assyrians themselves appear to have possessed a 'mixed kind of civilization', and to have been of a mixed origin, there being a considerable element of Semitic peoples, as well as an admixture of Armenoids, in the early Assyrian stock. Semitic peoples had, of course, been appearing before that time, for already by the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur there had been an increasing number of Semites and Amorites active in Mesopotamia. It was at that time of the Third Dynasty of Ur that considerable advances in various aspects of intellectual and artistic life can be traced, especially, perhaps, in literature, but also in mathematics and geometry. It may not be due to chance that, as will be suggested later, the time of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt saw great literary and mathematical activity.

There are but few tablets of the Cappadocian type from Ashur or its vicinity. Yet in Assyrian tablets from Assyria, and in the Cappadocian tablets, there are traces of the use of the eponymous system, and of a single type of calendar. Smith has pointed out, in this respect, that there is a difference between the eponymous systems of Cappadocia and Assyria; in the former 'it was applied in a more thorough manner than in the latter. This points to some common origin at a very much earlier period, before the Assyrians entered the land of Assyria at all.'

It is perhaps possible to believe that the writers of the Cappadocian texts may not have come to Cappadocia from Assyria at all. On the other hand, they clearly had some ancestral relation

with the Assyrians of Assyria, and perhaps Smith is right in hinting that there was some single source outside Assyria for both peoples, who however need not be thought of as both migrating thence at the same time. These writers of the Cappadocian tablets certainly came to Cappadocia from somewhere, and may therefore be considered as migrants, perhaps one of several groups whose migrations at about that time can be traced by archaeological evidence, as has already been suggested and will be discussed later again. One remarkable thing, from the point of view of this essay, as regards the Cappadocian texts, is that they provide quite unusually detailed information about commercial activities. For much the same effect of detail in information about commercial activities appears also in some texts from Egypt, of the time of the Twelfth Dynasty and a little earlier, such as the Contracts of Hapjefi and the Kahun papyri. And in each land such documents belong to a period with an abrupt opening and a remarkably brief duration. Without doubt the clearheadedness and foresight illustrated in Egypt in these documents stands out as being very unusual in that land (F. Ll. Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, pp. 37 and 45, suggests that there was then an understanding of the operations of capital and interest, and a daily system of accounting), so unusual indeed that they could be considered as suggesting the presence of foreigners. This might also be indicated by the short duration of the period of those texts, for surely a considerable period of time would have been needed for the evolution of the acumen and interests displayed, and the systematic organization involved; if that had occurred locally one would not expect to see it vanish speedily, not to reappear. But if the people concerned had come as foreigners from some other region, so quick a change might be less unexpected; considerable changes have quickly developed as a result of migration more recently, as to America. Such an explanation might serve to account equally for the brevity of the period of the Cappadocian tablets, as for that of the Egyptian documents mentioned.

Could it be that the Anatolian and Egyptian groups of contemporary documents of related type are the productions of related groups of peoples?

It may be suggested that the matter of the carrying-on of trade, in the sense of exchange of goods, in the ancient Near East, is open to discussion still. Generally speaking, it is not, perhaps, a matter of very great importance for the archaeologist whether trade was, or was not, carried on to any significant extent, except in one way, which is mentioned below, briefly.

The restricted consideration given in the last few pages of the two alternative ways in which it is likely that new ideas may have spread in antiquity is not likely to persuade those who hold one view already to change their allegiance. And indeed it may seem that argument about anything so obscure as the ways in which new ideas came into use in the ancient world is bound to be inconclusive. It may be that this is correct, in which case perhaps one should not attempt more than to suggest possible explanations for the process. Unfortunately such restraint has not always been shown, and indeed it is possible to say that students, in stating that trade was carried on, seem to imply that this occurred in such a way that the mechanism whereby ideas spread from land to land was thereby created. The archaeological student should, however, be trying to discover truth from the study of archaeological material, not to create an idea which is not necessarily supported by facts. This applies to all archaeological activity, and perhaps more strongly in the present case than in any other, for what is involved here is, in effect, the question of what could be described as the mainspring, as it were, of cultural evolution in prehistoric times. If it is to be proposed by one group of students that new ideas were disseminated chiefly or wholly as a result of trading activities, it should be so stated clearly. At present that view is being allowed to grow and flourish, while remaining more or less unrecognized and unchallenged. It may be the correct view. All the more reason, surely, to bring it out into the open and discuss it. As things are at present, it is possible to see a lack of precision and clarity in the expression of certain archaeological opinions which might only too easily lead to obscurantism, and to its corollary, ridicule and condemnation of others.

It is surely possible to say, as regards the impulses behind the

development of Near Eastern civilizations, that the theories involving trade, and frequent migrations, are, both of them, intelligible theories. Perhaps it may also be said that they are both reasonable explanations of the phenomena. They are not the sole ways in which archaeologists have suggested that new ideas spread in antiquity, for sometimes one encounters references to the word 'influence' in this context. What appears to be implied by this word is that when similar ideas appeared more or less contemporaneously in adjacent lands, the people of one can be believed to have 'influenced' the people of others so that the ideas spread from one land to another. There is an excellent illustration of the use of this word with such connotation in a recent number of the Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (*Anatolian Studies*, V, p. 79), in which place Mr. Mellaart, discussing objects found at Beycesultan in western Anatolia, observes: 'like the chalices, the askoi and some of the weapons, the pithoi show Aegean influence in a region which . . . was geographically placed half-way between the civilizations of the Aegean and the central Anatolian plateau.' This may sound an easy, agreeable sentence, but what does it mean, precisely? Neither Mr. Mellaart nor anyone else who has used this word 'influence' appears to have defined it in its archaeological context. In default of such help it seems best to refer to *O.E.D.*, wherein there are several definitions, all of them leading to very much the same conclusion. In one place there appears 'the capacity or faculty of producing effects by insensible or invisible means, without the employment of material force or the exercise of formal authority; ascendancy of a person or social group; moral power over or with a person; ascendancy, sway, control or authority, not formally or overtly expressed'. Elsewhere it is stated that 'influence' is 'the exercise of personal power by human beings, figured as something of the same nature as astral influence'.

It is, surely, unlikely that anyone would suggest that Mr. Mellaart believes, when he refers to 'influence', in astral or other forces at work to produce effects by invisible or insensible means. Very likely he believes, as most archaeologists who think like him would probably believe (if they formulated their opinions,

which they do not always do), that the western Anatolians were imitating Mycenean ways because they believed the Mycenean civilization worth imitating. It is doubtful indeed if he or any other archaeologist would follow the O.E.D. definitions to the letter. Perhaps the working of 'influence' in archaeology, as the phrase appears to be used today, might be defined in such a way as to indicate not so much positive 'authority' (in the O.E.D. sense) from one side, as willing receptivity, coming close to admiration, on the other. However, so far as the writer is aware, neither Mr. Mellaart nor anyone else has tried to advance any explanation of the meaning of 'influence' in an archaeological context. Despite that lack, Mr. Mellaart continues to write as if the action of 'influence' was obvious and beyond doubt. It certainly is not obvious to the present writer, and indeed it hardly seems likely that anyone will find the terminology wholly satisfactory. In view of this, would it not be better to abandon the word 'influence' altogether, and re-examine the whole matter of these Beycesultan objects and their causes afresh, in the hope of avoiding dogma at least, even if one cannot expect to reach a wholly satisfactory conclusion?

So far as Mr. Mellaart's study of material is concerned, all that is beyond doubt is that there are parallels between the kylikes, askoi and other things of the Aegaeon world and of western Anatolia of the later part of the Bronze Age, and that such things have no immediate prototypes in Anatolia. His opinion concerning the way in which those parallels came to occur is perhaps a little uncompromising in its assurance, as well as being somewhat vague in its expression. It will not be considered unfair to him, it is to be hoped, if the matter is reconsidered in this place. As it happens, the implications of the material he has written about are of exceptional significance, and deserve fuller treatment than they have yet been given, or can be given here.

Mr. Mellaart has discussed some material excavated from the latest strata of Beycesultan. In those strata occurred kylikes and askoi which are to some extent parallel in shapes to vases of Mycenean date from the Aegaeon, as he has pointed out. They are not alone in this, for there also occurred in the same strata

other shapes with Aegean parallels, including side-spouted jars (*Anatolian Studies*, V, Plate IV b, top left); an animal-shaped askos (not yet published) and a spouted jar with a basket handle (*Anatolian Studies*, V, fig. 14, 7), but Mr. Mellaart does not mention the western parallels to these pieces. (There also occurs the frequent use of a streaky brownish-red lustrous wash, not unlike the red streaky paint of normal Mycenaean vases, and here again no mention is made of the external parallels.) Thus there is some variety in the ceramic shapes found in common in the two areas. It is doubtless arguable that such a range of similarities would not have arisen by chance in two adjacent areas at the same time, and indeed this view is taken for granted by Mr. Mellaart. But the total area with which he concerns himself, the Aegean and western Anatolia, is only a small part of the ancient world. It is possible that Mr. Mellaart has overlooked the fact that the kylix, the baggy askos and other shapes referred to above occur also in several of the more easterly parts of the Near East from very early days indeed. Further, it has been suggested that migrations from east to west occurred during the Mycenaean period on the evidence of these very shapes, amongst others. Such things do not stand alone, for there is much supporting evidence in favour of this hypothesis, which has been summarized in the present writer's *The Coming of Iron to Greece*. It was at about this epoch that peoples spread to Egypt both by sea and by land, and there is no particular reason to doubt that the hypothetical westward migrations mentioned above also passed by both land and sea routes. So far, therefore, from stating dogmatically that the undoubtedly parallels between Aegean and west Anatolian ceramic shapes are due to Aegean 'influence', it would appear as if there is a strong, and possibly a very strong, reason to believe that they could have appeared in both regions from some source external to both. If so, this source would perhaps have been somewhere in the east, in view of the fact that such shapes as the kylix have very long histories in such lands as Persia. It is not suggested here that there was any 'influence' at work; but there might have been migrations of ideas, presumably through the actual movements of peoples.

There are other reasons to challenge Mr. Mellaart's views, but

argument, and one-sided expression of opinions, is not a particularly valuable proceeding in archaeology. It is better to let objects speak for themselves, and to encourage the student to seek to become a master of a wide field rather than a specialist in a narrow one, lest he make the mistake of trying to draw conclusions from a portion only of the actual material available.

Professor Webster has stated that something similar to Mr. Mellaart's 'influence' occurred, in that he has written, in his *From Mycenae to Homer*, that ideas were 'borrowed' by the Greeks from the East. It would be interesting to learn the details of this process—until it is defined, however, it does not seem to be easy to understand. One could object to the verb, because of its implications—as for example of insufficiency—and to the dogmatic way in which it is used, without consideration of other possible ways through which ideas might have spread. Most readily of all (so it seems to the writer) could one recoil from the attitude that anyone, however learned in archaeology, can yet state how people reacted in antiquity. By using the word 'borrow' the matter becomes a concern of conscious intentional choice. Can prehistorians really arrogate to themselves the power to lay down the law in this respect?

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE material, largely ceramic, which has been discussed in the earlier part of this study may, perhaps, indicate an outline of the course of events at about 2000 B.C. in the Near East. There is, in fact, some considerable quantity of other material illustrative of cultural changes at that time, particularly from Egypt, in addition to the ceramic, and this will be briefly referred to in this chapter. This further evidence of changes may suggest much the same thing as the pottery, namely that newcomers arrived in archaeologically known areas and brought with them new ways of self-expression.

One of the most striking things about the civilization which developed in Egypt after the time of the First Intermediate Period is the utterly non-traditional techniques which were practised. In literature, for example, stories such as that of 'Sinuhe', 'The Ship-wrecked Sailor', and 'The Eloquent Peasant' all have a quality which is new there. It is a kind of saga-like quality, with heroes adventuring in a region which is not altogether real and achieving tremendous exploits. Nothing like this has survived from earlier days, even though there had been a most remarkable development in literature during the First Intermediate Period. It is a phenomenon which, in itself, can hardly be explained. But are not the sagas of Homer, and of the Dark Ages of Europe, somewhat similar in effect? Is it possible that the love of heroic adventure in foreign parts which forms the base for literary expression in all three periods does not reappear by chance, but is in fact indicative of repeated appearances of a particular people? As a single piece of evidence this matter could not be considered open to discussion, as there is simply not enough evidence on which to argue. But when considered beside various other categories of material it plays a part, as will be suggested below.

Remarkable as the literary developments may be in Egypt at

this time, they are less striking than the changes which occur in sculpture. In this field one finds, besides beautifully executed works in the traditional manner, which, however, show remarkably little imagination or real artistic quality, a series of portraits of amazing vitality. The best-known examples of these include the Gulbenkian obsidian head, and the Deir-el-Bahri statue of Sesostris III. The style of such things appears to be quite new, without any prototype in Egypt. It seems reasonably clear that the sculptors were not solely concerned in such works with the outward appearance of the sitter. Nor were they particularly interested in creating an idea, as appears in such works of the Old Kingdom as the glorious figure of Khafra, perhaps the greatest-known embodiment of royalty as something outside the ordinary range of mankind. In these later works one is confronted with studies of brooding, careworn, yet completely human faces, and one feels, surely, convinced that here are real people called to the awful responsibility of kingship. It is not so much the upsurge of conscious power in achievement that one senses in these new works as a curious, rather sad insight into what happens to human beings, a sympathy with the subjective side of life. Perhaps such thoughts may be criticized as going farther than their causes would really deserve. But, even were that objection justified, surely so great a change as appears in sculpture at this time could hardly be due to chance, or even to the influence of a single wonderful master of genius?

The style in sculpture which has been described as appearing at the time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt is found there only at that time, and is now represented by only a few works. It cannot therefore be described as characteristic of the country, though it could perhaps be supposed to illustrate a manner brought from some other source. Although so effective, the fact that this style never 'caught on' in Egypt might also be explicable by the theory that it is a style brought from elsewhere by people who were not in a position to develop and propagate it in a land new to them.

Perhaps the change in sculptural aims evident in the works discussed above can be summarized by saying that enjoyment in

the physical appearance of nature gave way to an interest in the spiritual aspect of humanity. Such a change can also be traced at the time of the fifth century in Greece.

Another art practised in Egypt at this time was architecture, and in this also there were remarkable achievements which cannot be supposed to lie within the stream of normal Egyptian development. Here also new ideas are not now represented by many examples. But they undoubtedly exist. Perhaps the most striking illustrations of new ideas in architecture are provided by the rock-cut tombs at Beni Hasan, for they reveal a style virtually new in every way. In them use is made of fluted columns, sometimes placed in antis, and the details of what must have been originally construction in timber are reproduced in stone. Many centuries earlier, at the time of the Third Dynasty, columns in stone had been used, and pilaster-like three-quarter columns had been fluted (at Sakkara). But there is a long gap between the two periods, and it could hardly be alleged that the style is typically or characteristically Egyptian. It seems more probable that here, also, may be seen the coming of new ideas from outside Egypt, brought by people who seem not to have been in a position to propagate them in a land new to them.

It has long been recognized that there are close parallels between the architecture of the tombs of Beni Hasan, and that of the temples of the classical period in Greece, though no attempt was made to develop this fact, or to explain it until, very recently, it was suggested (in CIG) that the parallels that appear between classical Greek architecture, and the monuments of Egypt at the times of the Third, Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties could be due to repeated migrations to the Nile valley, bringing at intervals the knowledge of a particular tradition of architectural style to a land where it was strange, and unable to get established on each occasion of its introduction. The source for the style which has been proposed is the general one of Caucasia, from which, the presumption is, the style also proceeded at the time of the eighth century to travel westwards to Greece. It is interesting to note in this connection that altars of types connected with the classical Greeks have been found in Egypt associated with buildings of the

periods of the Third and Eighteenth Dynasties (AJA, LVII, pp. 189 ff.), when, as has been said, use was made of fluting on columns, and when there also occurred the construction of colonnades, and the use of fine masonry.

The apparent similarities between methods of work introduced to Egypt at this time, about 2000 B.C., and methods practised by the Greeks much later do not stand alone. There are other parallels to be found between Greek things and things of the eastern Mediterranean world. For example, various scholars have shown that words used by the Greeks are duplicated in eastern Mediterranean lands (S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 145; P. Kretschmer in *Glotta*, 1929, p. 195). Then there is the curious matter of the people called Ha Nebwet by the Egyptians, who referred to them in texts of long before the time of the Middle Kingdom, and at intervals throughout Egyptian history subsequently. In late days these folk were connected with the Greeks, but in earlier times they seem to have been associated with the region east of Anatolia and north of Mesopotamia. (There is a discussion of these folk, with references, in CIG.)

If the material which has been discussed in this work can be supposed to indicate that there were migrations from some undefined part of the north or east of the eastern Mediterranean region at about 2000 B.C., and if the quoted parallels at that time with ways of work practised by the classical Greeks are truly significant, it might be implied that somewhere in that undefined region there were established, from at least as early as the end of the Third Millennium, some kind of 'proto-Greek' people, representatives of whom migrated from time to time, to introduce their traditions elsewhere. This possibility appears to be reflected by the evidence of the incised dish from Kahun (Manchester Museum no. 478), which has been discussed above (pp. 24, 36). It will be assumed here that this object does in fact bear incised alphabetic signs because the groups involved are similar to known Semitic letters, and also because they are incised much more carefully than the obviously decorative part of the series of incisions. The signs referred to are similar to certain South Semitic letters—K, B and N. Of these the signs read as B and N

could also be paralleled in early Greek alphabets, though not precisely in Phoenician as at present known, wherein the type of B is not found, and wherein the N is normally facing left, as against the right-hand direction of the letter on the Kahun dish. Another parallel between South Semitic and early Greek writing lies in the fact that in both the direction of the writing is frequently boustrophedon. If there were a real connection between the Greek and the South Semitic systems of writing, as the details mentioned might possibly be considered to hint, then presumably it would be by way of some common source for the Greek and South Semitic alphabets and system, for the evidence would hardly permit the suggestion of any direct connection whereby 'borrowing' could have operated. If this were so, the Phoenician alphabet might also, perhaps, be considered to represent another derivation from the same hypothetical source, thus being parallel to the Greek alphabet and not its source, as has been proposed in the past. Such a theory would suggest, clearly, that some variety of Greek peoples, using an early form of alphabetic writing, were established already somewhere in the lands to the north of Syria and Mesopotamia by the beginning of the Second Millennium.

Another art which was practised in ways little known (or unknown) before in Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom is the manufacture of gold jewellery. This work was extraordinarily delicate. In this way it belongs to a tradition already established in Egypt, for the First Intermediate Period had seen the first production of such wonderfully fine objects. Another point about Middle Kingdom gold jewellery is the fact that much use was then made of inlay, usually cloisonné, and such work also had been first introduced to Egypt at the time of the First Intermediate Period, though it had then been somewhat tentative in style, and far less precise and well made as later. But the fact of continuance of particular styles of work at this time of the Middle Kingdom does not necessarily indicate that the period was one which saw an evolution in style of locally invented types. The First Intermediate Period was a time of very great changes in many ways in Egyptian civilization, changes almost certainly due to the introduction of new ideas from the north. The continuance of such

ideas as those of the gold jewellery of delicate type merely links the Twelfth Dynasty period with the time of foreign introductions.

The cloisonné inlay of the Middle Kingdom jewellery occurs both in open-work pectorals (Lahun, I, Plate I), and in such pieces as the handle of the dagger of the Princess Ita from Dashur (Dahchour, 1894-5, Plate VI), where the effect is not of open-work, but of a surface entirely covered, the cloisons being wholly contiguous. The result in this case is of a glowing all-over polychrome effect, and both the style of work and the colouring have a parallel of some interest, as will be discussed later. This dagger is interesting in another way, for its pommel is in crescent shape, a form which is most unusual in Egypt, but occurs elsewhere (see the discussion in Ug., II, p. 65, especially), as for example in Caucasia.

Sometimes in the gold jewellery of the time of the Middle Kingdom one finds granulation. This is an unusual technique, which appeared at particular periods, at which it was comparatively widespread (CIG, p. 66). It is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the evidence indicates that the knowledge of this technique spread from some Asiatic source from time to time, perhaps as the result of migrations thence to archaeologically known lands.

The various types of gold jewellery made at about 2000 B.C. in Egypt and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean belong to categories of which examples appear at other times and in other places. For example, gold jewels covered all over by contiguous cloisons containing variously coloured pieces of stone are typical of certain of the Teutonic invaders of Europe early in the First Millennium A.D., the best-known examples of whom are the Saxons of south-eastern England. The same people made use of the technique of gold granulation (G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts of Early England*, IV, Plate G, II), a peculiar technique discussed in CIG, and utilized also by the classical Greeks and widely by the Etruscans, a people supposed to have originated in Anatolia or perhaps Caucasia. There is a remarkable link between the Saxons and the Etruscans provided by the fact that not only did both manufacture gold jewellery with similar technique, but also both

adorned their plain polished grey pots with the impressions of engraved seals while the clay was still soft. And it should not be forgotten in this context that similarly ornamented pots were made at about 2000 B.C. in Syria and Cilicia (Rapp. prelim., pp. 33, 42, and Plate X, 3; LAAA, XXVI, Plate LXXV, 17; AJA, 1940, pp. 69, 70, 75 and figs. 15, 16, 27). The same technique occurs also at the time of the Orientalizing Period in the Aegaean, notably in the case of the great pithoi made in Rhodes and the Islands.

There are no particular reasons to connect the people who made the lovely gold jewellery found in Egypt at about 2000 B.C. with any kind of Greek people, as might be the case with the peoples who practised some of the other arts discussed above. But there might be some kind of connection between them and peoples engaged in the migrations of the Dark Ages, peoples who probably included varieties of Celts. And a brief mention of the manufactures of the early Second Millennium in the Aegaean area, which follows in this place, may be suggestive of the possibility that there were, in fact, artistic principles known to Celtic-speaking peoples and already being practised by that time in the eastern Mediterranean.

At the time of the Mediterranean Middle Bronze Age (2000–1600 B.C.) certain distinctive elements appeared in ceramics made within the Aegaean world, as has been mentioned above, especially on page 48. They consist of a group of motifs, and an ornamental principle. The motifs are:

- (1) The spiral pattern.
- (2) The drawing of a human face, shown full and without body or limbs.
- (3) A line which swells and contracts in thickness along its length.
- (4) An object of a more or less pear-shaped form. This is like a blot, being all of one colour, except in Crete, where it is outlined and cross-hatched, to form what Sir Arthur Evans called the 'racquet' motif (POM, I, p. 611, fig. 449a).
- (5) The palmette.
- (6) A large roundel, within which motifs may be arranged.

The ornamental principle is that of asymmetry. This is to be seen principally in the light-on-dark ornamental ceramics of Crete.

All these things occur in the decoration of such objects as pottery vessels, metal objects and carvings in stone produced by Celtic peoples of La Tène days and later, and at the time when the Saxons were flourishing, in central and western Europe. (There are good illustrations easily available in P. Jacobstal's *Early Celtic Art*.) They seem to have been so commonly used in those days as to appear characteristically Celtic. Like Celtic-speakers themselves, they apparently began to make their appearance at that epoch at about 400 b.c. Some were then very widespread, such as the curious idea of using part only of an entity (the head alone, for example), which, while comparatively rare in Celtic art, is commonly found in the Mediterranean area, and is well known in Scythian work. Perhaps the most important elements appear in the principle of asymmetry, and in the drawing of a line which varies its thickness, thereby imparting great vitality and liveliness to the design. Of the former perhaps the finest examples are the engraved mirrors found in England, such as the Desborough mirror in the British Museum, while of the latter probably the best illustration is provided by the Torrs Champfrein in the Royal Scottish Museum.

The parallels drawn suggest that a particular group of artistic conventions was in use at two epochs, very widely separated in time. It is surely fair to say that these conventions reveal an excellent sense of decoration, something not far, perhaps, from genius. Was this the mark of a particular people, or is it the kind of thing that could be successfully imitated or 'borrowed', as some archaeologists may say? (What often happens in that process is shown by the difference between the Torrs Champfrein and the Battersea shield—the one aesthetically vivid, the other an academic exercise). There can be no doubt, surely, that on both occasions one can see the shining of a power of positive self-expression, appearing in a highly individual style. This flowered magnificently at times separated by many centuries during which ornamental systems of good proportion and elegant balance, but

decoratively somewhat negative, held the field. Did it reappear for no particular reason?

It is suggested by what has just been said that one can trace parallels between early Second Millennium pottery in the Aegaean area and the decorated products of people, such as the La Tène Celts and the 'Saxons', who were active in western Europe during the later part of the First Millennium B.C. and the earlier part of the First Millennium A.D. At that period, when the Celts and Saxons were active, there were several different artistic systems in use, overlapping to some extent, as for example in the case of the typically Celtic curvilinear system of decoration, which continued for a long time, well into post-Christian times, and long after the 'Saxons' had introduced new manners of ornament to the west.

If such parallels are not due to chance they are hardly likely to be represented only by objects from the Aegaean area at the time of the beginning of the Second Millennium B.C. One might expect to find parallels also in Egypt, especially if what has been proposed earlier in this place is correct. Such parallels do, as a matter of fact, occur. For not only does curvilinear decoration appear in Egypt on the light-on-dark decorated pots found at Kahun, Abydos and other sites, not all of which by any means came from Crete or the Aegaean (such objects as IKG, Plate I, 2, have no parallels at all there in the west), but also torques have been found in deposits of the period of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt. Torques are, in historic times, characteristic of only one people, the Celts. It does not, of course, follow infallibly from this that torques were characteristic of Celtic peoples at about 2000 B.C., or indeed that there were any kinds of Celtic peoples flourishing at that time anywhere in the Near East. Still, the longevity of the Celtic linguistic dialects might well be thought to suggest the reality of a highly developed sense of nationality, which perhaps needed long to develop.

Professor Schaeffer and others have written about the presence of torques in the Near East, and have discussed their significance. The very early ones are all of about the same time, the first few centuries of the Second Millennium B.C. (there is a catalogue in *The Coming of Iron to Greece*), and many have been discovered at

Byblos in Syria. Of these latter it has been said, apparently with reason, that their presence there suggests a southward migration of peoples coming from or through Caucasia, an area where the ends of torques and other objects were frequently flattened and rolled over, in precisely the same way as appears in the Kahun torque.

The evidence indicates that peoples whose ways of self-expression parallel those of the folk known as the La Tène Celts, could have been on the move at about 2000 B.C. southward from Caucasia towards Egypt, and westward from the same area to the Aegaeon countries. This does not mean that the migrations suggested began there, and indeed the ultimate source cannot yet be known. So far as the evidence from the Aegaeon is concerned, there were probably several groups of 'Proto-Celts' amongst the peoples involved in the westward movements. Some of them seem to have had strongly marked individuality.

* * *

It has often been said that it was at about 2000 B.C. that there arrived in Greece the first Greek-speaking peoples to come there. The basis for this remark is not, archaeologically speaking, very firm, in the opinion of the present writer, since it appears that little or no decisive evidence to support it has yet been produced. It is unlikely that it ever could be, by an examination of material from Greece alone, which seems (to the writer) not to indicate very much more than that new peoples then arrived there from some external source. But if, as has been suggested in the foregoing pages, a general study is made of material from the whole of the Near East, objects from Greece taking a place merely as a part of Near Eastern material, and not being set apart as forming an entity in themselves, a different picture seems to shape itself, with indications of the movements of ideas, and perhaps of the migrations of peoples, resulting in the coming at about 2000 B.C. into the Near East of certain techniques with parallels to those practised by the classical Greeks. A possible conclusion is that people with affinities with the Greeks, and perhaps of Greek blood, could have reached the Aegaeon by about 2000 B.C. But to

agree with such a view involves accepting as reasonable the opinion that one can trace a real connection between manifestations of ideas separated by long intervals of time. There seems to the writer to be no particular reason why this should not be possible. On the other hand it cannot be established as a certainty. This being so, the argument is unlikely to be thought convincing, and perhaps scholars will consider the parallels mentioned to be accidental. No doubt, if so, the parallels mentioned above between material from the Aegaean area of about 2000 B.C. and material made by Celtic-speaking folk of La Tène and later times would also appear to be accidental to scholars. There are a number of similarities involved, and to attribute them all to chance seems perhaps a trifle arbitrary. On the other hand, to accept them as being indicative of a particular course of events, such as that proposed by the writer, is perhaps trying to advance too fast. It is not likely, as a matter of fact, that any general consensus of opinion will be established on this question yet, and indeed that is only proper, for the view urged by the writer is comparatively new, and both the evidence in support of it, and the evidence against the alternative view of trade as a vital factor in cultural development, surely need detailed examination and criticism. It seems to be certain that, for the present, suspension of judgment is the wisest course, and particularly so lest any one opinion be expressed with undue emphasis, a course of events which is both unscientific and likely to hinder balanced advance in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

Some conclusions which can be drawn from the study of archaeological material which has been described in these pages may be summarized as follows:

Certain definable groups of peoples can be believed to have been active at about 2000 B.C., in larger or smaller numbers, in many parts of the Near East, perhaps as the result of migrations which brought them from farther to the east or north of those lands which are at present known to the archaeologists. Firstly, there was a group which had much the same kind of outlook on life,

and knew the same kinds of methods of procedure in architecture and sculpture, as the Greeks used from the Orientalizing Period. Secondly, there was a group which was delighted with miniature work, some of the most remarkable illustrations of which appear in Egyptian gold jewellery, and which was, so it might be suggested, especially interested in delicate technical processes. Possibly this group included as a sub-group those people who manufactured granulated gold-work. Another group which can surely be isolated is that which consisted of people characterized by their love of contrasting colours, so beautifully illustrated in the cloisonné and other inlaid-work from Egypt, such as the dagger-handle of the Princess Ita. And lastly there was the group which took pleasure in curvilinear, lively, vital patterns, a group which it is easy to parallel with the Celts of La Tène times, and later.

It is not suggested that such conclusions are other than theoretical. They involve picturing the physical presence in the eastern Mediterranean area at about 2000 B.C. of newcomers who included representatives of the peoples known later as Greeks, Etruscans and Celtic-speakers. In historic times those three peoples used something of the same artistic conventions. This bond between them is usually explained by the statement that such parallelism was due to a process of borrowing ideas from the Greeks, a statement which is almost an abrupt way of dismissing the subject. At the earlier period with which these pages are concerned there was far less parallelism in the artistic conventions of the peoples then active, and as a result it might be possible to resolve the elements which, it could be, were originally characteristic of individual peoples amongst the several concerned, but which tended to coalesce later. If indeed these elements can be resolved, to such an extent that particular peoples with their traditions can be identified and described within fairly close limits, it ought to be possible to mark the progress of migrations more clearly, and thereby to understand a little more about what may yet prove to be the bony structure, as it were, of prehistory. But to attempt this at present would be to try to advance faster than is wise. Greater quantities and variety of material objects from certain regions are needed, and their collection must take time, even

with the most careful planning of excavation work. Time also is needed to accustom the student to new ideas, and to soften the uncompromising harshness with which old opinions are expressed and new ones rejected, so that love of archaeology may grow, and the subject itself may become less cloistered and more robust.

Sometimes in the past attempts have been made to work on a wide scale in the field of Near Eastern prehistory, and such students as Engberg, Götze, Gelb and Speiser have put forward opinions on such matters of international significance as the origins and spread of the Hurrian people, and on the 'great movements of peoples' at about 2000 B.C. and subsequently, which have been thought by some experts to be a necessary assumption in view of the coming of the Hyksos and Kassite peoples to the Near East. They have not, however, quoted much archaeological evidence in support of their views. This lack of concrete material is not very surprising, since certain regions are still most incompletely known to the archaeologist, and stratified sites occupied at that period, as indeed at many others, have either not been excavated or still await adequate publication, particularly sites in the areas of Mesopotamia and Palestine, most of Persia and Syria, and Egypt.

Lack of material from certain areas has caused some degree of unbalance in the ability of archaeologists to draw a comprehensive picture of antiquity, and it is perhaps inevitable that students should have turned their attention to intensive study of particular aspects of the past. It can be argued that this specialization should form but a stage in archaeological study and that, ideally speaking, such specialized studies as have been characteristic of archaeologists would, when welded together, constitute a whole. However, the process of welding does not seem to occur, and instead of any centripetal movement, fragmentation has increased with the passing of time. What are really only aspects of archaeology have become virtually ends in themselves. Excavation, for example, has been studied as a technique in a most elaborate way, being made the subject of so many treatises in recent years that one could easily forget that it has no other long-term use than to

provide material for historians. Another such aspect is detailed study of particular classes of objects or periods of time in more or less complete isolation. It seems strange that a third such aspect, namely interpretation of the material available, has not yet been isolated and made the object of a dispassionate treatise, for it is obviously an important factor, and a very difficult one, perhaps the most difficult of all in archaeology. All students need help in it, far more than they do, for example, in excavation.

It is probably reasonable to state that the prime essential in the matter of the interpretation of archaeological material is time, plenty of it, whereby the student may acquire a very wide knowledge of the objects and, what seems to be as rare and may be even more important, true and self-denying sympathy with them. For here, as in any kind of detective work, tiny clues, such as can easily be missed or given but scant regard through lack of responsiveness on the part of the student, may have the power to change altogether aspects of things taken previously for granted. Despite occasional efforts, it cannot be said that interpretation of the material illustrative of Near Eastern prehistory has been attempted in such a way in the past as to produce widely convincing results, largely, no doubt, because it has been the rule for the individual to interpret the evidence according to his private opinions and personal experience. May it not be suggested that a greater degree of impersonality in the interpretation of the material should be sought, perhaps by placing more emphasis on the actual objects, and less on the individual interpreter? The paradox of the whole matter is that, fundamentally, interpretation depends on human qualities, and particularly, no doubt, on ability to listen quite dispassionately to all the evidence.

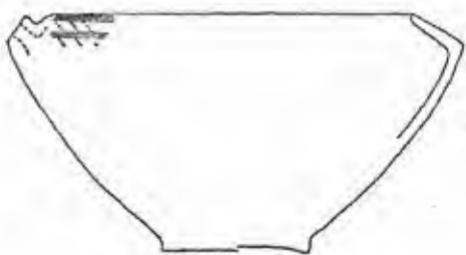


FIG. 1 (470)

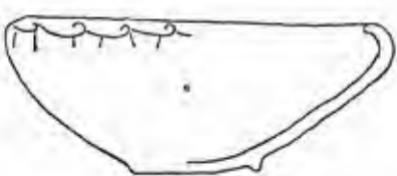


FIG. 2 (471)

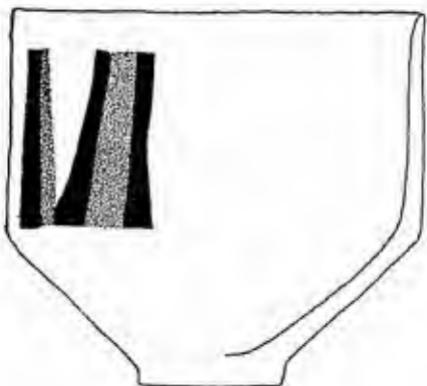


FIG. 3 (435)



FIG. 4 (454)



FIG. 5 (457)

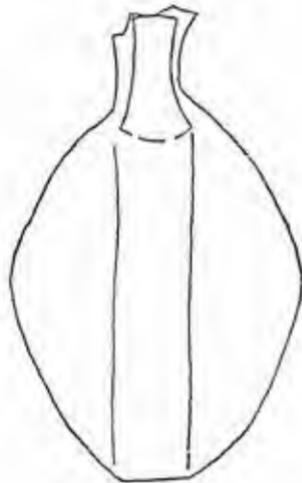


FIG. 6 (453)

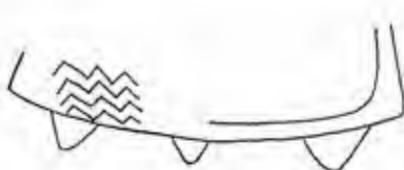


FIG. 7 (467)

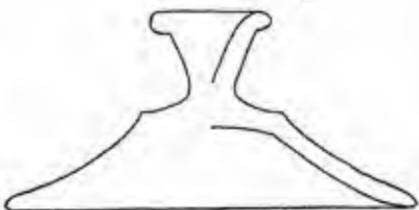


FIG. 9 (450)

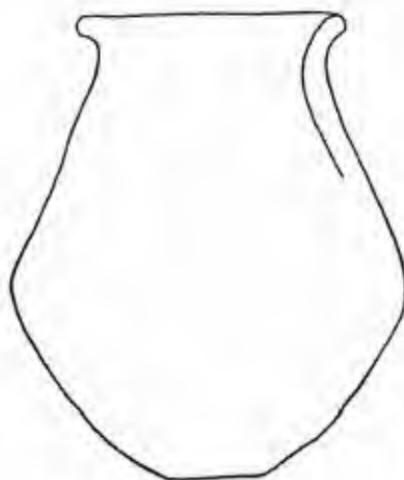


FIG. 8 (383)



FIG. 10 (468)

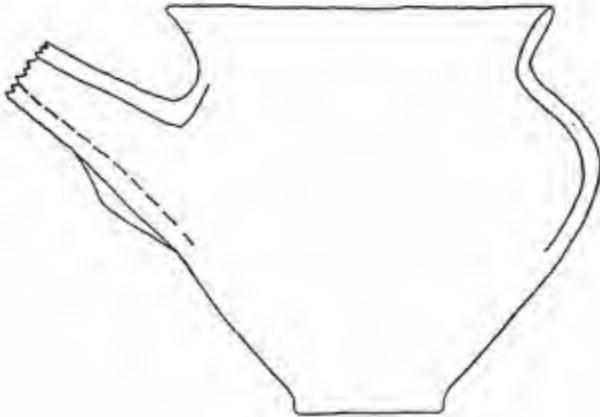


FIG. 11 (439)

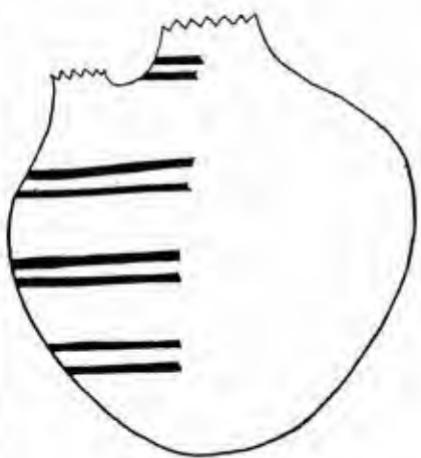


FIG. 12 (459)

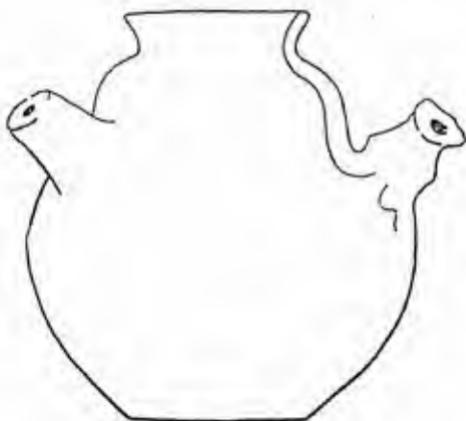


FIG. 13 (445)

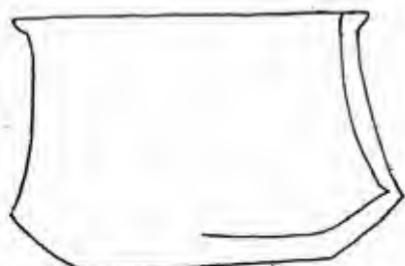


FIG. 14 (368)

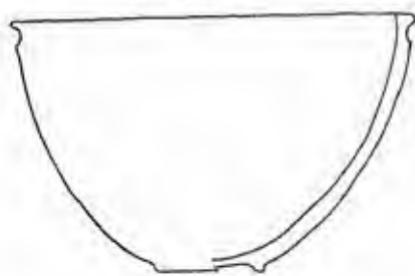


FIG. 15 (367)

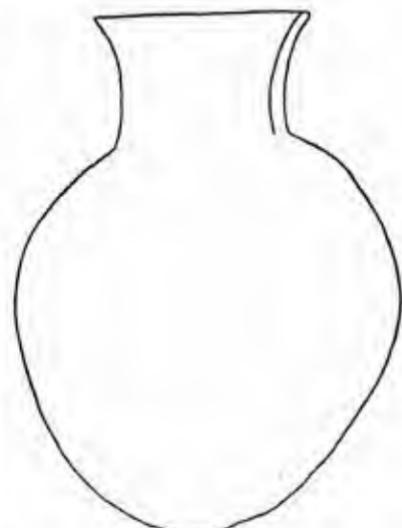


FIG. 16 (379)

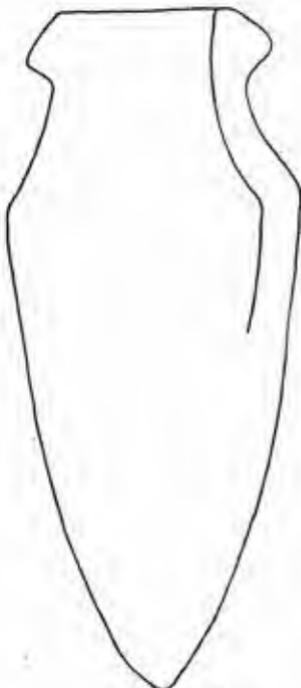


FIG. 17 (421)

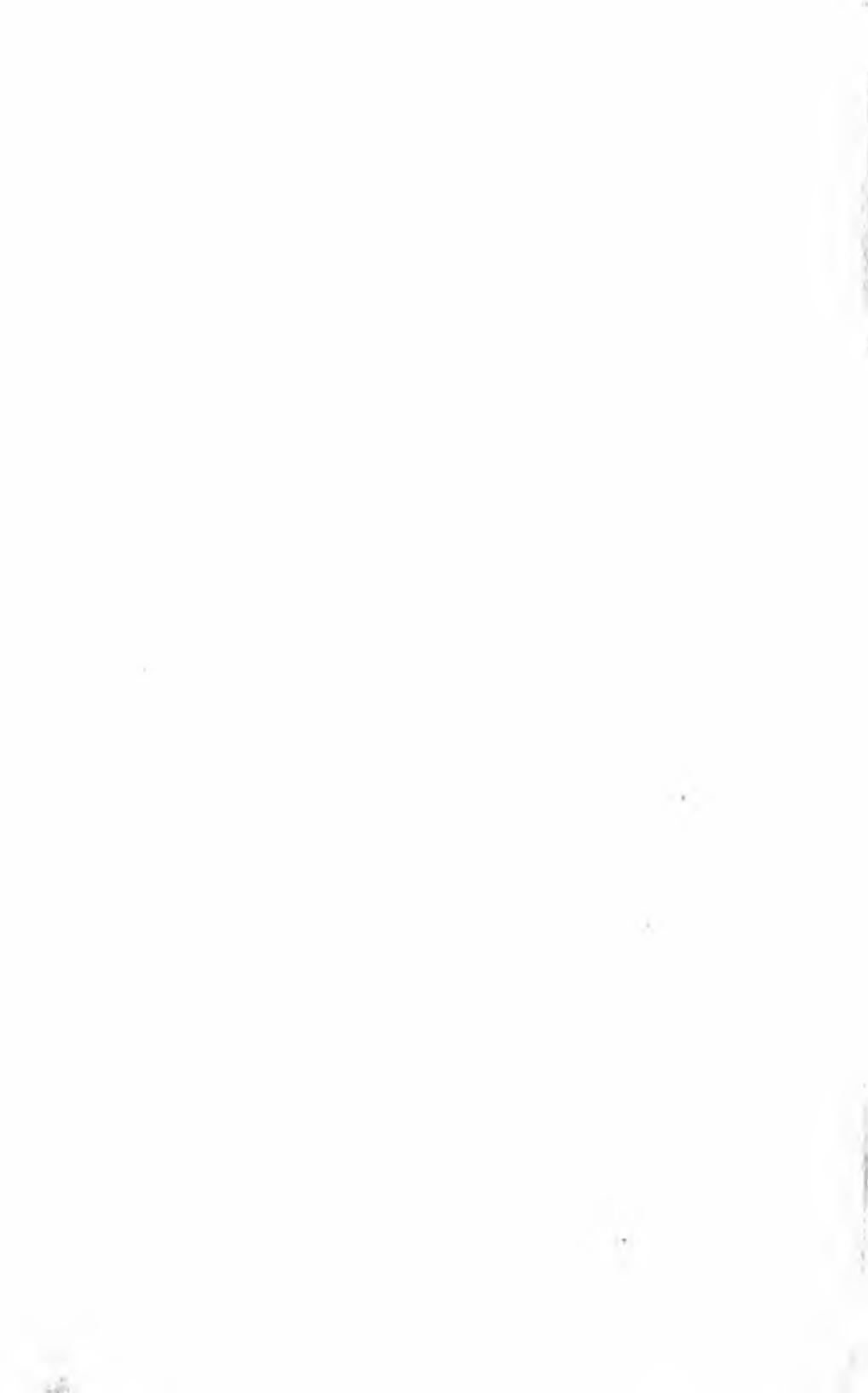




PLATE I

Manchester Museum, no. 383.

Bi-conical vessel, containing ceresin, with an ink-written inscription (p. 15).



PLATE II

Manchester Museum, no. 478.

Two views of part of a pottery dish, showing what may be alphabetic signs
(drawn in K.G.H., Pl. XIII, 103) (pp. 24, 36, 66).

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